

Cycladic Nippled Ewers of the Middle and early Late Bronze Age

Their Symbolism and Function

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Abstract

The motivation behind this thesis is to take a closer look at the symbolism and function of the nipples ewer, a ceramic vessel manufactured in the Cyclades, in the southern Aegean, during the Middle to early Late Bronze Age. These vases are often interpreted as libation vessels, and are frequently connected to supposed fertility rituals due to features such as plastic breasts. In this paper I take a more critical look at the combined evidence of the find contexts, and shape and decoration, of these objects, in order to better understand their symbolism and function.

Many nipples ewers appear in probable household contexts, particularly at the site of Akrotiri on Thera. The evidence from there suggests that religious beliefs, domestic rituals and everyday life were deeply interconnected in the Cycladic culture, and that nipples ewers played an important role in domestic ritual. Traces of domestic ritual are particularly evident in activities such as the grinding and storage of grain, and other household industries. The shape and decoration of nipples ewers also offers evidence of a complex symbolism. This is tied both to depictions of women in ceremonial attire, and to images of birds as symbols of communication with the divine world. Thus depictions of the female body in Cycladic religious contexts appear to have expressed far more than just fertility. Religious beliefs may also have involved activities like ecstatic trance, divination and other manifestations of the divine in the everyday world. A concern with maintaining a connection to the Cycladic past and to the ancestors is also suggested by the long period of use of these vessels. Finally, nipples ewers are a testament to the involvement of women in both the crafting of traditional and ritual ceramics, and in the performance of religious rituals.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	vii
List of Figures.....	viii
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND AIMS	4
1.2. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS.....	5
1.3. TERMINOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS.....	6
2. Theoretical and Methodological Background	9
2.1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND.....	9
2.1.1. <i>Identifying Religious Objects and Find Contexts</i>	9
2.1.2. <i>Analysis of Ceramic Vessels, Vase Shape and Decorative Motifs</i>	11
2.2. METHODOLOGY	13
3. Background	15
3.1 THE CULTURAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF NIPPLED EWERS AND OF CYCLADIC POTTERY MANUFACTURE	15
3.2. THERA AND MELOS: THE ORIGINS AND FABRICS OF MIDDLE AND EARLY LATE CYCLADIC NIPPLED EWERS.....	18
3.3. PREVIOUS STUDIES	19
4. The Find Contexts of Nipped Ewers	22
4.1. PRESENTATION OF FIND CONTEXTS: AKROTIRI AND THERA	22
4.1.1. <i>Building Delta</i>	24
4.1.2. <i>Building A</i>	25
4.1.3. <i>Building Beta</i>	26
4.1.4. <i>The House of the Ladies</i>	28
4.1.5. <i>The West House</i>	28
4.1.6. <i>Xeste 3</i>	30
4.1.7. <i>Vases with Unclear Contexts</i>	30
4.1.8. <i>Other Sites on Thera</i>	31
4.2. PRESENTATION OF FIND CONTEXTS: OTHER SITES	31
4.2.1. <i>Phylakopi and Melos</i>	31

4.2.2. <i>Finds from Mainland Greece</i>	33
4.2.3. <i>Finds from Crete</i>	33
4.3. DISCUSSION OF THE FIND CONTEXTS.....	34
4.3.1. <i>Graves and Foundation Deposits</i>	36
4.3.2. <i>Household Mills and Domestic Ritual</i>	38
4.3.3. <i>Storerooms, Storage and Domestic Ritual</i>	43
4.3.4. <i>Religious Beliefs and Rituals in Everyday Life</i>	44
4.3.5. <i>Evidence of Feasting and Drinking in the Aegean and at Akrotiri</i>	46
4.4. SUMMARY	48
5. The Shape and Decoration of Nippled Ewers	49
5.1. PRESENTATION OF THE SHAPE AND DECORATION OF NIPPLED EWERS	49
5.2. COMPARISONS WITH CONTEMPORARY AEGEAN AND CYPRIOT CERAMICS	52
5.3. DISCUSSION OF THE SHAPE AND DECORATION OF NIPPLED EWERS	55
5.3.1. <i>Representations of the Female Body in Aegean Art</i>	55
5.3.2. <i>The Significance of Jewelry and Adornments</i>	58
5.3.3. <i>Birds, Nature Scenes and Divination</i>	60
5.4. SUMMARY	65
6. Final Discussion of Symbolism and Function.....	66
6.1. FEMALE POTTERS, AND WOMEN AND BREAD-MAKING: ADDITIONAL CONNECTIONS BETWEEN NIPPLED EWERS AND WOMEN	66
6.2. BIRD-HEADED WOMEN AS SYMBOLS OF DIVINE POSSESSION	68
6.3. NIPPLED EWERS IN DOMESTIC RITUALS AND AS A LINK TO THE ANCESTORS	70
7. Concluding Remarks	73
Appendix: Catalogue of Cycladic Nippled Ewers.....	74
Bibliography	120

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List of Figures

Frontispiece: Beak-spouted nipples ewer from Akrotiri, Thera (National Archaeological Museum of Athens, 2008-2012).

Figure 1: Map of the Bronze Age Aegean, showing major sites and islands.....	1
Figure 2: Chronological table of the Aegean Bronze Age.....	2
Figure 3: Chronological table of the Aegean Bronze Age with focus on Thera.....	7
Figure 4: Site map of Akrotiri, Thera.....	23
Figure 5: Middle Cycladic beaked jug from a grave at Karageorghis Quarry on Thera.....	36
Figure 6: Painted table of offerings from Akrotiri, Thera.....	40
Figure 7: Vase A3 with barley motif.....	41
Figure 8: Stone horns of consecration from Akrotiri, Thera.....	43
Figure 9: Set of jug and cups with matching decoration, from Akrotiri, Thera.....	47
Figure 10: Possible depiction of abstract necklaces on an Early Cycladic beaked jug from Phylakopi, Melos.....	50
Figure 11: Nippled ewer motif on a Dark-on-Light style eyed jug from Akrotiri, Thera.....	51
Figure 12: Sketch of a Black-and-Red style beaked vase.....	52
Figure 13: Sketch of Cypriot Red Polished ware ornithomorphic vase.....	53
Figure 14: Sketch of an Early Minoan breasted <i>rhyton</i>	54
Figure 15: Sketch of an Early Cycladic marble breasted vase.....	54
Figure 16: Image of a woman in ceremonial clothing, from a wall painting in the House of the Ladies, Akrotiri, Thera.....	56
Figure 17: Sketch of the seated 'goddess' wearing necklaces and earrings, from a wall painting in Xeste 3, Akrotiri, Thera.....	58
Figure 18: A Minoan terracotta figurine wearing a crown of doves and horns.....	60
Figure 19: The lily pendant motif on vase A35.....	61
Figure 20: Early Cycladic folded arm figurine with painted eyes.....	64
Figure 21: Epiphany scene on a Minoan signet ring.....	68
Figure 22: Late Minoan seal impressions of bird-headed women in ceremonial attire.....	69

1. Introduction

The nipped ewer is a unique style of jug belonging to the Bronze Age culture of the Cyclades, the southernmost group of Aegean islands. These vases are unusual in certain elements of their shape and decoration, the most distinctive of these being plastic breasts, painted necklaces, and a long beaked spout. Often there are painted eyes to either side of the spout, resulting in a bird-like face. With such an unusual and distinct appearance, it is likely that these vessels embodied a specific symbolism and served a special function in the Cycladic culture.

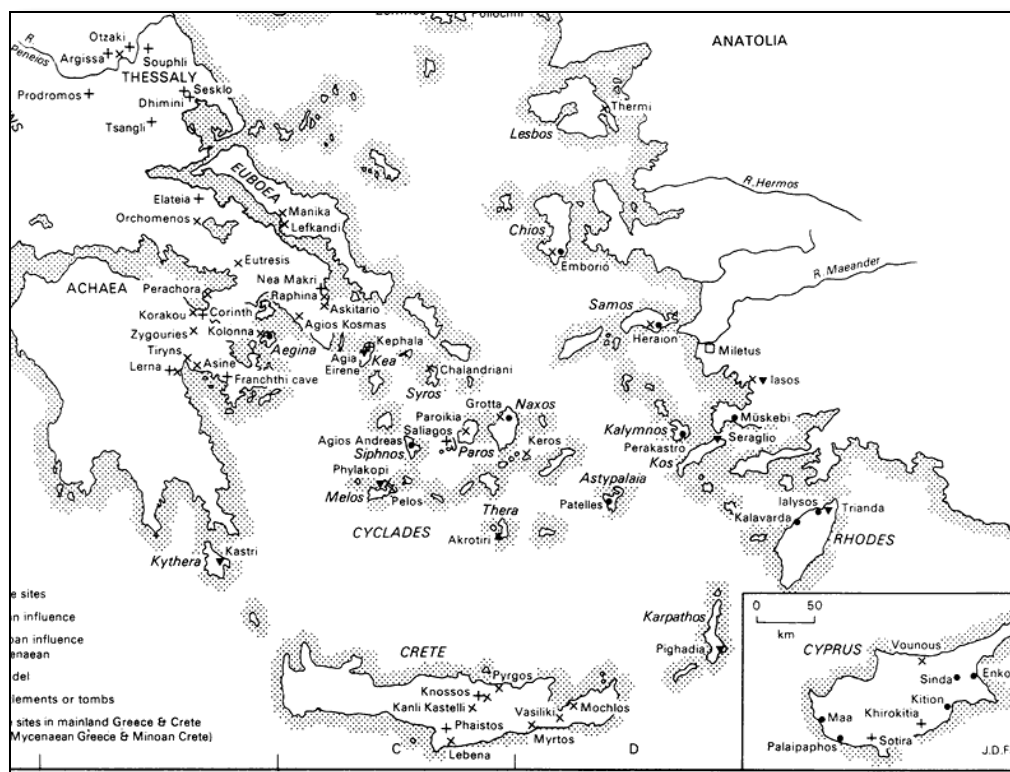


Figure 1: Map of the Bronze Age Aegean
(University of Texas at Austin 2006)

Nipped ewers first appear at certain Cycladic sites during the Middle Bronze Age (Goodison 2008: 421). This is a time when many new developments were made in ceramic technology, both in paste preparation and firing and in the introduction of new shapes. Many of these new shapes are of pouring and drinking vessels, especially jugs such as these (Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 322; Dickinson 1994: 103).

The term *nippled ewer* is used to describe these vessels in a number of sources (S. Marinatos 1969: 14; Doulas 1983: 110; Goodison 2008: 421). It describes their shape and prominent breasts or nipples. The shape of the spout is a distinct animalizing element of these vases, and has long been described as beak-like or *beaked* (Edgar 1904: 98-100, 108, 119; Evans 1921: 703; Doulas 1983: 109-110; S. Marinatos 1968: 31; S. Marinatos 1969: 42). Additional painted decoration on the body often includes earrings and other adornments, as well as birds and abstract designs.

B.C. (approx)	Cycladic Period	Settlement Phases	External Contacts	
			Mainland	Crete
3000	LNII	Kephala Ayia Irini I (?)		
	ECI	Phylakopi Pre-City (A1)	EH I	EMI
2600	ECI/II	Kampos Ano Kouphonissi		EMI A
	ECII	Phylakopi I-II (A2) Ayia Irini II	EH II	EMI B
2300	ECIIIA	Ayia Irini III Mt. Kynthos B Kastron Christiana	EH III	EMI II
	early	Phylakopi I-II	early	MMIA
	ECIIIB	Paroskia		MMIB
1800	late	Phylakopi I-III	MH middle	MMIA
	MC	Phylakopi II-II Ayia Irini IV		MMIB
1550	late	Phylakopi II-II Ayia Irini V	late	MMIII
	LCI	Akrotiri - early destr. Phylakopi III-I Ayia Irini VI Akrotiri - final destr.	LHI	LMIA
1500	LCII	Phylakopi III-II Ayia Irini VII	LHIIA LHII B	LMIB LMII
1450			LHIIIA	LMIII
1250	early	Phylakopi III-II early Ayia Irini VIII early Grotta	LHIIIB1	
	middle	Ayios Andreas Koukounaries occ.	2	
1100	late	Koukounaries destr. Phylakopi shrine coll. Koukounaries reocc. Aplomata Kamini	early tower developed	
	final	Ayia Irini shrine-latest	LHIIIC advanced final	

**Figure 2: Chronological Table
(Barber 1987: Figure 22)**

The nippled ewer is a handmade vessel, and despite the adoption of the potter's wheel by the end of the Middle Bronze Age these and some few other traditional shapes continued to be crafted by hand (Papagiannopoulou 1990: 57, 61-62; Russell 2006: 147-148). Partially as a result of being handmade, each vessel differs slightly from other examples in some details of size, body shape and the decorative motifs used. However, nippled ewers are markedly standardized in basic details such as the shape of the spout, the placement of eyes and breasts, and the colors used for the body and decorative motifs.

Other Cycladic ceramics do incorporate zoomorphic elements in their shape and decoration, and the nippled ewer may have at least partially grown out of this pre-existing tradition.

Painted or plastic eyes appear on numerous vessels in shapes ranging from measuring cups to storage jars (see S. Marinatos 1968: Figure 47; S. Marinatos 1969: Plate 16,2; S. Marinatos 1970: Plate 49,3). There are also many non-breasted jugs with beaked spouts, commonly referred to as *beaked jugs* (Edgar 1904: 98). This basic jug shape was developed in the Early Bronze Age, and is therefore a traditional Cycladic shape (Barber 1987: 90-2; Barber & Macgillivray 1980: 155).

Nippled ewers are, however, the only *zoo-anthropomorphic* Cycladic vessel type that I have encountered during the Middle and early Late Bronze Age. And often, due to their unusual appearance, these vases have been attributed with a religious ritual function (Doulas et al. 2009: 52; Goodison 2008: 423; Immerwahr 1990: 240; N. Marinatos 1990: 371; S. Marinatos 1969: 41; Papagiannopoulou 1990: 63; Papagiannopoulou 2008: 443; Russell 2006). Spyridon Marinatos, during his excavations at the site of Akrotiri on Thera in the late 1960's, described the first nippled ewers he uncovered as vessels undoubtedly intended for libation rituals (1969: 41). Libation, or the pouring of a drink offering to a deity, is a type of ritual well attested in the neighboring Aegean cultures at this time, including the Minoan culture of Crete and the Mycenaean culture of mainland Greece. In these cultures and in other Bronze Age civilizations, liquid offerings can take the form of water, wine, milk, honey, oil or blood (Hägg 1990: 177-178).

On Minoan Crete, the *rhyton* is usually interpreted as a vessel used in libation rituals. Minoan *rhyta* are often zoomorphic and sometimes anthropomorphic in shape, and are pierced at both ends so that liquids can pour freely through them (see N. Marinatos 1993: 5-6). These vessels, including breasted anthropomorphic *rhyta*, number among the earliest evidence of ritual activity in the Early Bronze Age tombs of Crete (Branigan 1998: 22; Lupack 2010: 251; Goodison & Morris 1998: 117; N. Marinatos 1993: 16). *Rhyta* are also found in domestic shrines (see Warren 1988: 4-5, Figure 2), and in the Minoan palaces in various types of palatial shrines (N. Marinatos 1993: 50, 95; Warren 1988: 7). Minoan-style *rhyta* also appear at Late Bronze Age sites on mainland Greece (Mountjoy 1986: 17, 31-32), where in addition some house shrines have permanent installations built as receptacles for liquid offerings (Hägg 1990: 178).

Minoan *rhyta* first appear at Cycladic sites in the early Late Bronze Age. This was a time when the Minoan culture had become quite influential in the islands, and the local island pottery was becoming more similar to Minoan popular styles (Barber 1974: 5; Barber 1981: 2; Cadogan 1984: 13; Cummer and Schofield 1984: 144; Davis 1986: 88; Davis & Cherry 2007: 302-303; Wiener 1984: 20). Before that time, the Cycladic culture appears to have been largely independent, and finds such as pottery are of a distinctly local character (Barber 2010: 160). Therefore, the nature of religious beliefs and rituals during the time that the nippled ewer was first developed and used may have been somewhat different in the Cyclades than in neighboring areas.

The find contexts of nipples ewers are also often of a different nature than those of Minoan *rhyta*, for example. I have not encountered any finds of nipples ewers from Cycladic graves, or in buildings that are indisputably interpreted as temples or strictly ritual locations. This could partly be a result of lack of evidence, such as the fact that very few Middle and Late Cycladic cemeteries have been found (Overbeck 1989: 204; Barber 1987: 184-185; Branigan 1984: 52). But I believe that the number of these vases found in settlements, particularly in probable households, provides strong evidence of a function not entirely comparable to that of *rhyta* and other types of ritual vessels. An important part of this unique function lies in the fact that nipples ewers are both from domestic locations, and seem to reflect a symbolism that is deeply rooted in the Cycladic culture specifically. The underlying connotations of this function may also have gone through some transformations over the long period of time that these vessels were in use.

In this study I first take a closer look at the find contexts of these vessels, examining what evidence there actually is that nipples ewers performed a religious rather than utilitarian function. Providing a clearer picture of the contexts in which these vases appear makes it possible to discuss what these contexts actually tell us about the connotations and function of nipples ewers. I then discuss the symbolism inherent in their shape and decoration, offering one possible interpretation of that symbolism. I ultimately combine the results of these two discussions, in the hope that this will shed more light on the possible symbolism and function of these vessels, and how this function might have changed over time. Such an examination also makes it possible to take a brief look at the people who once made and used these vessels.

1.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND AIMS

The focus of this study is to offer an interpretation of the symbolism and function of Cycladic nipples ewers through an examination of their find contexts, shape and decoration. A preliminary question is: Does the evidence provided by the find contexts, combined with a study of the shape and decoration of these vessels, clearly suggest that their symbolism and function was primarily religious in nature?

Other important queries are: A) in what contexts do these vessels appear? B) What is the meaning of the symbolism inherent in these vessels? C) What function are they likely to have served? D) What information do their find contexts, symbolism and method of manufacture provide regarding the people who made and used them?

In order to answer these questions, I also look at the following:

- ❖ Is there a pattern in the find contexts of these vessels?
- ❖ Do the find contexts provide clear evidence of religious (or non-religious) use?
- ❖ Can I draw comparisons between the shape and decoration of nipples ewers and those found on other ceramics and art? If so, how have these previously been interpreted?
- ❖ What information does their method of manufacture provide regarding the original makers and users of these vessels?
- ❖ And finally, why were nipples ewers used over such a long period of time in the Cyclades, despite changes in cultural conditions and in the local ceramic repertoire?

1.2. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Following Chapter One, the introductory chapter, I explain in Chapter Two the theoretical and methodological background used in this study. First I discuss theory for recognizing religious objects and locations in archaeological remains, and how these differ from objects, rooms, and buildings of non-religious use. Then in a second section I introduce a few theories for analyzing symbolism in ceramic vessels, including gender symbolism in ceramics and art. The final section of Chapter Two explains the methodology used here.

Chapter Three provides background information on nipples ewers, including developments in Cycladic ceramics during the time that these vessels were in use, and the changing cultural conditions from the Middle to early Late Cycladic period. A second section introduces the two major sites where these vessels were manufactured, Akrotiri on Thera and Phylakopi on Melos, and briefly discusses the local ceramics from each site. In the final section of this chapter I list some important studies related to nipples ewers.

Chapter Four focuses on the find contexts of the nipples ewers listed in my catalogue. I begin by describing only the find contexts and vessels from the island of Thera, particularly the site of Akrotiri, as these are the most numerous finds. The second section describes find contexts from Phylakopi on Melos and from sites outside of the Cyclades. I follow this with a third section, discussing these contexts and their implications regarding the connotations and function of nipples ewers. I focus mainly on the finds from Akrotiri here. This chapter concludes with a brief summary.

Chapter Five focuses on the shape and decoration of these vessels. It begins with an introduction to the shape and motifs. I follow this with a section drawing comparisons to other Aegean and Cypriot ceramics, which I hope will help to place nipples ewers more clearly within the framework of contemporary art and symbolism of the time. I then discuss what I consider to be the most important aspects of their shape and decoration, and the possible symbolism that can be interpreted from these. This discussion is divided into a few sub-sections, and is followed by a brief summary.

Chapter Six is a final discussion of these vessels. I begin by discussing their possible makers, which I believe were women, and other ways in which these vessels can be connected to women. I then discuss the symbolism of bird-headed women in the Cyclades and on Crete, and how this symbolism may be connected to possible divination practices or divine possession. The final part of Chapter Six focuses on the function of nipples ewers as domestic ritual objects, and how the underlying connotations of their function might have changed over the span of time in which they were used.

Following these chapters are some brief concluding remarks in Chapter Seven, after which is my catalogue of nipples ewers. This catalogue is not exhaustive, but I have endeavored to gather together as many of these vessels as possible. Lastly is the bibliography. The list of figures is located before the opening chapter.

1.3. TERMINOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS

The Aegean Bronze Age as a whole is divided into Early, Middle and Late periods. In the Cyclades the term *Cycladic* is commonly used to discuss the local Bronze Age culture. The Cycladic Bronze Age sequence is then divided into the *Early*, *Middle* and *Late Cycladic*

periods, which roughly correspond with the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age of the wider Aegean (Barber 1987: 20, Figure 22; Doulmas 1983: 24-27).

The Cycladic culture was also a part of the larger Aegean cultural family that includes Crete and mainland Greece (Barber 1987: 20). As developments on Crete and the mainland were also distinct from each other and the Cyclades, all three areas have their own terminology. On Crete, the term *Minoan* is applied to the local Bronze Age culture, which is again divided into Early, Middle and Late periods (Barber 1987: 20; Doulmas 1983: 27). On mainland Greece, the term *Helladic* is used. The Late Helladic period is also referred to as the *Mycenaean* period, after the palatial civilization appearing there around 1600 BC. This was a later development than the palatial civilization appearing on Crete in the Middle Minoan period (Barber 1987: 20; Doulmas 1983: 20, 26). My discussions also focus on two Cycladic islands: Thera and Melos. The term *Theran* refers to finds from Thera, and *Melian* refers to finds from Melos.

	CRETE	CYCLADES	DEVELOPMENTS IN THERA
5500-3300 BC	Late Neolithic	Late Neolithic	First settlements at Akrotiri and Phira
3300-3200/2800 BC	Early Minoan I	Early Cycladic I	
2800-2700 BC		Early Cycladic I/II	Settlements at Akrotiri, Archangelos and Phira
2700-2400/2300 BC	Early Minoan IIA	Early Cycladic II	
2400/2300-2200 BC	Early Minoan IIB	Early Cycladic II/III (Kastri group)	Flourishing settlement at Akrotiri, settlement at Ftellos
2200-2000 BC	Early Minoan III	Early Cycladic III	
20th-18th c. BC	Middle Minoan I-II	Early Middle Cycladic	Town at Akrotiri, settlements at Ftellos and Megalochori
Late 18th c. BC	Middle Minoan III	Late Middle Cycladic	Akrotiri a large urban centre, new settlement at Megalochori
Early 17th c. BC	Neopalatial I / Middle Minoan IIIB-early Late Minoan IA	Early Late Cycladic I	Akrotiri, Final period Phase A Seismic Destruction
17th c. BC	Neopalatial II / Mature Minoan IA	Mature Late Cycladic I	Akrotiri, Final period Phase B Volcanic Destruction

Figure 3: Chronological Table with Focus on the Island of Thera
(Doulmas et al. 2009: 26, Chronological Table)

I have also chosen to use the term *nipped ewers* in reference to the vases discussed here. One reason for my choice is that this was the term first applied to these vessels by S. Marinatos during his early excavations at Akrotiri on Thera (S. Marinatos 1969: 14). This is also the term I have encountered most frequently in my reading. However, other sources can also

refer to these vessels as *nippled jugs* (see S. Marinatos 1972: Plate 60a), or *breasted ewers* (see Dumas 1983: 110). My choice of term is a personal one, and the other terms mentioned are equally valid.

2. Theoretical and Methodological Background

2.1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

My analysis of nipples ewers begins with the assumption that each ceramic vase is a purposeful creation of the potter (see Arnold 1989: 16). Therefore most, if not all, aspects of the shape and decoration of each individual vase were created with a specific intention, and with a definite purpose underlying the ultimate appearance of the vase.

Ceramic vessels are also not isolated objects, but are closely related to other aspects of culture such as belief systems and social hierarchies (Arnold 1989: 16). Vases do more than fulfill utilitarian tasks, such as acting as containers for foods and liquids. They can also be channels for beliefs, ideologies and other information. This is especially clear when a vase is used in a religious ritual, or when it is decorated with symbolic or iconographic motifs and themes (Arnold 1989: 16-17).

In this study, I hope to shed some light on the underlying symbolism inherent in nipples ewers, as well as on their possible function, through discussing their find contexts and decoration. In order to accomplish this, it is important to establish a theoretical background for identifying religious versus non-religious objects and find contexts, and for analyzing symbolism in ceramic vessels.

2.1.1. Identifying Religious Objects and Find Contexts

To analyze the find contexts of nipples ewers, I have chosen to use the theory that Colin Renfrew establishes in his book *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi* (1985). In this work, Renfrew lists and explains practical guidelines for identifying religious locations, objects and symbols in prehistoric finds. His primary focus is on the Late Cycladic shrine at the site of Phylakopi on Melos, but the principles that he discusses can also be applied to earlier periods in the Cyclades and to any investigation of evidence of ritual in the archaeological record.

Renfrew defines religion in general as a framework of beliefs, related not only to the everyday material world but also to superhuman or supernatural forces that transcend that world (1985: 12). Religious rituals are therefore “actions of worship and propitiation” that are performed by human celebrants towards a supernatural or transcendent being (Renfrew 1985: 18). It is important to keep in mind, however, that different cultures differ in the extent to which religious beliefs distinguish between the material and supernatural worlds. Not all religions make any separation between the two (Renfrew 1985: 12).

In the prehistoric Cycladic culture, religious beliefs may also not have viewed the human and divine worlds as greatly distanced from one another. It has been suggested that the supernatural world was believed to have played a concrete role even in very practical aspects of human life, such as aiding in problem-solving, resolving conflicts, and affecting human health and the weather (Goodison 2008: 421). But because there are no written records describing Cycladic religious beliefs, evidence of these beliefs and their associated ritual practices can only come from archaeological remains.

Renfrew lists, specifically, two types of data that can provide information about religious beliefs and practices. One of these consists of depictions of deities, mythical events or ceremonial practices. The other is of actual remains of ritual practices. Such material remains can include built structures, and objects whose meaning is expressed in symbols and iconography (Renfrew 1985: 12-13). But it is important that religious structures, objects and rituals are identified based on their find context. If an object seems likely to have a religious function or meaning, but is found in a context that provides no other evidence of religious symbolism or ritual, then that object could simply be a toy or prestige object. But if an object or symbol has already been identified as religious through one find context, then the discovery of that same type of object in a different context probably carries the same meaning (Renfrew 1985: 15).

The performance of religious rituals can leave traces in the archaeological record. Rituals can involve actions such as prayer, and the offering of objects, food, sacrifices and libations. In many cases, religious rituals are also performed not just to honor a deity but also to seek divine assistance. Therefore, evidence of religious locations and rituals can include traces of what Renfrew calls ‘gestures of adoration’, which would be reflected in the decoration of objects, remains of offerings, the construction of special facilities, and in related objects that may have functioned in religious activities (1985: 19).

Religious rituals also often take place in a special location, either a distinct natural location such as a cave, or in an area built for such purposes. These locations would probably contain a special natural object or cult image that acted as the focus of attention in rituals (Renfrew 1985: 16). Additionally, the performance of religious rituals would probably involve the use of a group or assemblage of religious objects. Once this assemblage has been identified, specific symbols or groups of symbols carrying religious meaning can be identified within it. These symbols can then be used to identify other signs of religious activity in different and perhaps less clear contexts (Renfrew 1985: 24).

However in the case of domestic rituals, a subject particularly relevant for nipples ewers, the remains may differ somewhat from what has been described. Domestic rituals are usually performed by a family or kin group, and at the level of the basic household unit (Renfrew 1985: 21). As with other evidence of religious activities, objects used in domestic rituals will probably still contain distinct symbolism or iconography, and activities will probably still have a special object or image functioning as a focus of attention. There may also be a recognizable assemblage of objects. But in many cases, household-scale rituals may only be distinguishable from other activities if a specific room or area is set aside for them, or if a specific symbol or object is used as either the focus of ritual or in making offerings (Renfrew 1985: 22).

2.1.2. Analysis of Ceramic Vessels, Vase Shape and Decorative Motifs

One theory that I make use of in my analysis of nipples ewers is *systems theory*. This theory is concerned with looking at vases and their decoration as a whole, rather than restricting discussions to separate analyses of different aspects of vessel shape and decorative motifs. Through the use of systems theory, it is possible to understand not only individual aspects and motifs but also the overall relationship between them (Arnold 1989: 13).

As nipples ewers also contain certain aspects that are clearly female, I also make use of theories for analyzing gender symbolism in ceramics. Anne Yentsch discusses this subject in her paper “The Symbolic Divisions of Pottery: Sex-Related Attributes of English and Anglo-American Household Pots” (1991). She explains how men and women use ceramic vessels to

impart information by making symbolic analogies. In these symbolic analogies, certain attributes of men, women, plants, animals or other objects can correspond metaphorically to the attributes of a vase. This can be true even of common household pots, which can have symbolic associations alongside their practical functions (Yentsch 1991: 192).

Determining the symbolism in a ceramic vase requires the use of systems theory, or of looking at the whole of that vase's shape, decoration and find context. The inherent symbolism in a vase, Yentsch explains, is a consequence of a number of factors including the social rank of the people using it, the space where it is used or stored, and the access that different people had to that space and to the vessel (1991: 193). It is therefore important to consider the various uses of the space or context where a vase is found. The existence of a certain vase in specific rooms, household areas or locations is not accidental. Looking at that vase's shape and decoration can give hints as to who was using it and for what purpose (Yentsch 1991: 193).

Yentsch is primarily concerned with identifying masculine and feminine symbolism in ceramic vessels. Her theory for determining this symbolism partly lies in identifying gender symbolism in a vase's find context. Even different spaces within a household can have different connotations, and can be public, private, ceremonial, domestic, commercial or defensive (Yentsch 1991: 197). Using English and Anglo-American culture as a base, Yentsch defines traditional female space as private and familial-based. In addition, feminine space and symbolism is often linked to animals and nature (Yentsch 1991: 212-213). Masculine space is by contrast usually public and formal, involving activities such as dining and feasting and the use of expensive imported and highly decorated ceramics (Yentsch 1991: 205-206).

I cannot know for certain to what extent these guidelines can be applied to the Cycladic culture. For example, it is not known to what extent Cycladic women were involved in ceremonial food production and in dining and feasting, or whether there were gender divisions between types of foods and ceramics. But I believe that the majority of Yentsch's theory can still be applied to discussions of nipples ewers.

Other theories for identifying gender symbolism in material objects include one discussed by Marie Louise Stig Sørensen in her paper "Gender, Things and Material Culture" (2007). Here Sørensen suggests that objects can actively affect cultural ideas of gender, and can play a part in constructing meaning and maintaining or transforming culture and social conditions (2007:

75-78). Again it is important to look at objects as a whole and, additionally, to look beyond the objects themselves to see how they fit within specific contexts of action (Conkey 1991, cited in Sørensen 2007: 79). Any given context of action is likely to involve a wide range of related activities, involving gender in various ways (Conkey 1991, cited in Sørensen 2007: 79).

Finally, Benjamin Alberti's (2001) investigation of different representations of gender and sexual difference in Aegean art introduces a theory that I apply to the analysis of nipples. He explains that in order to really discuss artistic representations of the human form, the body, sex and gender cannot be considered separately from adornments, clothing and painting (2001: 194). The combination of all of these aspects contribute to what he describes as the "sensory perception of particular forms", which create specific conceptualizations and "embodied experiences" (Alberti 2001: 194).

Alberti suggests, in addition, that it is possible for an archaeologist to gain a certain degree of understanding of an object or artwork through experiencing that object aesthetically, as long as this experience is combined with knowledge of the object's find context and culture. These considerations as part of what he describes as the object's *art production system* (Alberti 2001: 191). Alberti defines the art production system for figurative representation in the Bronze Age Aegean, focusing on art and objects from the sites of Knossos on Crete and Akrotiri on Thera (2001: 192). I make use of this theory in my own discussion of the shape and decoration of nipples.

2.2. METHODOLOGY

This study is based on first compiling a catalogue of all nipples I encountered in my reading. This catalogue is included at the end of this paper and contains information on nipples discovered in the Cyclades and some found in mainland Greece and Crete. The great bulk of these vessels come from the site of Akrotiri on Thera, where they are also in most cases complete and from well preserved find contexts. For this reason, my discussions of nipples rely heavily on the Akrotiri material.

The catalogue lists information, whenever possible, on the site where each vessel was found and where it originates, its period of origin, the find context and related finds, details of

vessel shape and decoration, measurements, and the source material in which each vessel can be found. I have also provided illustrations whenever possible. This information has been obtained from excavation reports, articles, publications of museum finds, and general studies of the Bronze Age Aegean.

In my catalogue, information that I have taken directly from the source material is written in italics. My own independent comments and observations, particularly those on vessel shape and decoration gleaned from photographs or physical observation, are written in regular text. References to source material are also in regular text, and the sources for the illustrations I have used are written in bold face. The measurements for each vessel are my own, unless in italics.

Each vessel is given an individual Catalogue Number, which is made up first of a single letter abbreviation referring to the name of the site, island or location where the vessel was found. This letter is then followed by a number, beginning with “1” for each site and progressing chronologically. These Catalogue Numbers are my own, created for this study, and I refer to them whenever I discuss specific vessels. The abbreviations that I have chosen for sites and islands are explained in the notes on the opening page of the catalogue.

Below the Catalogue Number, I have provided each vase with a Vessel Number. The Vessel Number is a straightforward, chronological numbering of all nipped ewers that I have encountered, independent of site. I have assigned these Vessel Numbers in order to keep track of the total number of nipped ewers encountered during my research that have contributed to this study. Both the Catalogue Numbers and Vessel Numbers are my own creation, and are unrelated to museum catalogue numbers or numbers given to vessels during excavations. I have, however, made note of museum catalogue numbers and of where these vessels can be found whenever possible.

This catalogue, and particularly the vessels from Akrotiri on Thera, is the basis for my discussion of the find contexts, and of the shape and decorative motifs, as well as of my final discussion in Chapter Six. The illustrations in the catalogue have also been vital in formulating my interpretation of the symbolism and function of these vessels.

3. Background

3.1 THE CULTURAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF NIPPLED EWERS AND OF CYCLADIC POTTERY MANUFACTURE

Nippled ewers were manufactured and used during a period of about 150-200 years, beginning in the Middle Cycladic period and continuing to the end of the early Late Cycladic period. The Middle Cycladic period was a time when many small coastal towns expanded and became important harbors. Among these are the sites Akrotiri on Thera, Phylakopi on Melos, Ayia Irini on Kea, Paroikia on Paros and Grotta on Naxos (Doumas 1983: 25; Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 322). Both Akrotiri and Phylakopi share the nipple ewer as part of their local ceramic repertoire (Doumas 1983: 42).

Nippled ewers are decorated using either the Dark-on-Light or Bichrome styles. In both cases, the body of the vessel is first covered in a white slip. In the Dark-on-Light style, also called Cycladic White ware, decorative details in dark brown or black matt paint are then added (Marthari 1987: 360; Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 317; Doumas 1983: 32; Papagiannopoulou 1990: 58). The Dark-on-Light style began to be used on beaked jugs during the later Early Bronze Age, and many decorative motifs seen on nipple ewers are comparable to these earlier jugs (Barber 1987: Figure 69; Marthari 1987: 372; Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 317). Some later Thera nipple ewers have a thicker coating of white color applied to their outer surface. This style is called *Theran White Coated Ware* (Marthari 1987: 366, Figure 23). Bichrome decoration is used for example on vessels decorated with swallow motifs.

Birds are in fact the most common pictorial motif used on Cycladic pottery (Doumas 1983: 25, 42; Jones 1978: 472; Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 311). Their popularity in Cycladic art may be due to birds playing a vital role in the island culture, perhaps as sources of food. They may also have been seen as announcers of the changing seasons, due to their migratory flights over the islands (Doumas 1983: 25). The fact that images of birds appear on both Dark-on-Light and Bichrome pottery, two styles that do not normally share motifs, and the fact that they appear on pottery from both the Middle and Late Cycladic periods suggests that these animals did have some special significance (Papagiannopoulou 1990: 61).

Cycladic potters may have been the first in the Aegean to use pictorial motifs on two-dimensional art, and these pictorial scenes demonstrate a great deal of skill (Doumas 1983:

25; Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 319). As early as the Early Bronze Age, some local vases are decorated with birds, fish, ships and other motifs (Doulas 1983: 25; Doulas 1982: 6; Edgar 1904: 100 and Plate IX. 11). During the Middle Cycladic period a greater number of pictorial motifs are used, particularly on Thera pottery. The local Thera ceramics, particularly from Akrotiri, demonstrate a wide range of scenes and motifs including lilies, crocuses, birds, animals and human figures. In many cases, these images may represent symbolic or narrative scenes (Marthari 2000: 887; Immerwahr 1990: 237; Jones 1978: 474; Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 317; Papagiannopoulou 2008: 446).

During the Middle Cycladic period, the island peoples had networks of trade and contact with the neighboring cultures in both mainland Greece and Crete (Barber 1987: 155; Betancourt 1984: 92; Doulas 1982: 8; Doulas 1983: 26-27; Jones 1978: 471; Macgillivray 1984: 156). Some pictorial motifs on pottery hint at even more distant interaction, such as images of felines and griffins, which suggest contact with Syria (Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 319; Papagiannopoulou 2008: 438). During the early Late Cycladic period in particular, finds from the site of Akrotiri strongly suggest contacts with the eastern Mediterranean (Doulas 1982: 10). Yet the local island culture appears to have been largely independent during the Middle Cycladic period, with potters selectively adopting or excluding external technologies, styles and motifs (Barber 1984: 180; Furumark 1950: 192; Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 323; Doulas 1983: 26-27; Jones 1978: 471-472). This independence is reflected in individual styles even between different islands and sites (Jones 1978: 471-472).

By the end of the Middle Bronze Age, however, the Minoan and possibly Mycenaean (Barber 1981: 2) cultures become more influential in the Cyclades. This influence is visible in the local pottery, which becomes more influenced by Minoan styles and contains numerous imitations of Minoan shapes and motifs (Barber 1974: 5; Barber 1981: 2; Barber 1984: 180; Cummer and Schofield 1984: 144; Davis & Cherry 2007: 302-303; Furumark 1950: 195-199). Even household objects such as lamps, cups (see Wiener 1984), kitchen pots and styles of wall painting are often identical to Cretan finds (Cadogan 1984: 13; Branigan 1984: 51-52; Barber 1981: 2).

Minoan religious objects and symbolism also appear at Cycladic sites at this time (Cadogan 1984: 13; Morgan 1990: 257-258; Tzachili 1986: 97; Wiener 1984: 20). This is especially visible in the pictorial wall paintings that are often found in early Late Cycladic homes, particularly at Akrotiri. Many if not all of these paintings are often thought to contain

religious symbolism, much of which is clearly similar to what is seen in paintings and other media from Crete (Angelopoulou 2000: 545-549; N. Marinatos 1984b: 171-176; N. Marinatos 1990: 370-373). This has been interpreted as an indication that the Cycladic and Minoan religions were virtually identical at this time, the result of the actual adoption of Minoan religion in Cycladic homes and towns (Branigan 1984: 52; N. Marinatos 1984a: 28-29; N. Marinatos 1990; Wiener 1984: 25). However, these apparent similarities in symbolism could simply indicate a close relationship between the beliefs and iconography of these two cultures. The imagery used in paintings and ceramics at Akrotiri and Phylakopi seems to display a combination of both local and Minoan elements (N. Marinatos 1984b: 176; N. Marinatos 1990: 372-374; Morgan 1990: 263; Immerwahr 1990: 243; Doulas 1982: 9).

It is possible that Minoans had settled in Cycladic towns at this time (Hood 1984: 34; Branigan 1984: 52). It has even been suggested that Crete had gained administrative control over the islands (Cadogan 1984; Doulas 1982: 7). One clear example is the island of Kythera, south of the Peloponnese, which was probably a Minoan colony (Sakellarakis 1996: 88-99; Doulas 1982: 5). However, the Cycladic towns may still have independently maintained their own trading contacts during the early Late Cycladic period. There are, for example, no clear traces of a ruler's home at Akrotiri. The visible evidence of Minoan cultural influence may have been the result of trade and the increasing wealth of Cycladic towns, rather than of Minoan administrative control (Doulas 1982: 11).

Whatever the case, by the end of the Middle Cycladic period the technology of the potter's wheel is introduced to the islands. This may have reached the Cyclades through Crete. At Akrotiri and other sites, most vessels are wheel-made by the start of the Late Cycladic period. Only a select few traditional shapes continued to be made by hand, including the nipples ewer (Papagiannopoulou 1990: 57, 61-62). The continuing manufacture of traditional handmade vessels demonstrates that the local culture did persist alongside evidence of Minoan influence (Barber 1987: 149; Papagiannopoulou 1990: 63). Not only were local shapes still made, but local pictorial motifs such as birds and animals also continued to be used (Doulas 1982: 8-9). The fact that nipples ewers continue to be manufactured, and to be made by hand, reflects a conscious choice to keep using older methods and older shapes while rejecting the technology and styles popular on Crete. This suggests a desire to maintain a sense of local identity, perhaps setting the people who used these vessels apart from others using different, newer shapes for the same purposes (see Rutter 2004: 78-79).

3.2. THERA AND MELOS: THE ORIGINS AND FABRICS OF MIDDLE AND EARLY LATE CYCLADIC NIPPLED EWERS

The origins of Cycladic ceramic fabrics can often be recognized by eye, and as there is no evidence that clays or tempers were imported from outside areas, pots with fabric characteristic of certain sites or islands were probably made there (Davis 1986: 3). Both Thera and Melos are volcanic islands, and as a result the clay used in both places is very similar. This has made it difficult in the past to identify the origin of nipples ewers that were exported to Crete and elsewhere (Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 322; Barber 2007: 206; Jones 1978: 476, 478), though a more recent study has found differences between these two fabrics (Kilikoglou et al. 1990: 442-443). Additionally, from the start of the Late Cycladic period there are definite differences between the Thera and Melian vases in details of shape and decoration (Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 319; Barber 2007: 204, 206).

Akrotiri on Thera may have been the largest and most powerful Cycladic town from the late Middle to early Late Bronze Age (Marthari 1990a: 69). The Late Cycladic finds are unusually well preserved as a result of being buried beneath the debris of a volcanic eruption around 1500 BC (Barber 1987: 161-162, Figure 22; Doumas 1983: 108; Papagiannopoulou 2008: 433). Earlier Middle Cycladic nipples ewers have also been found here (Doumas 1983: 42). Though Thera is the closest of the Cycladic islands to Crete, imported Minoan pottery at the site is rare until the end of the Middle Bronze Age (Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 313-314, 317; Papagiannopoulou 1990: 58). Also, even during the Late Cycladic period most pottery is still locally made (Doumas 1983: 108; Marthari 1990b: 450). A study was done of the fabric of twenty-nine Late Cycladic nipples ewers from this site, and the findings showed that nearly all of the vessels were made locally. Four, however, were imported from Phylakopi (Kilikoglou et al. 1990: 443-444, 446).

The local Thera pottery is semi-coarse and light-colored, or buff, with smooth or polished surfaces and often a thin slip or wash of whitish color (Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 313, 317; Marthari 1990a: 65; Marthari 1990b: 450). On Late Cycladic White Coated ware vessels from the island, talc was used to create the more substantial white coat. This same material was used on Crete to create decorative details on pottery, and the idea of using talc may have been adopted from there. However, the way that talc was used on Thera conforms to the local

preferences for vase decoration, specifically the creation of white-bodied vessels, which is quite different from what was popular on Crete (Marthari 1990b: 453, 456-457).

Phylakopi on Melos is another center of production of nipples ewers, and has a long history of excavations (see Atkinson et al. 1904; Dawkins & Droop 1911). This site and Akrotiri share the Dark-on-Light and Bichrome styles during the Middle Cycladic period, and are also similar in that Minoan pottery is rare until the end of the Middle Cycladic period (Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 313-314, 317, 319; Papagiannopoulou 1990: 58). Melian pottery is, however, exported to Crete and the mainland during this time (Barber 1984: 179, 181).

At both Akrotiri and Phylakopi, and in the Cyclades in general, pottery was made using relatively simple techniques, without needing strict control over firing conditions and temperatures. The same techniques were used in the islands from the Middle Cycladic period into the Late Cycladic, and required only two materials for most vessels: talc for white coats and paints, and iron-rich clay for dark coats and paints. These local methods of pottery manufacture were quite different from the techniques being used on Crete, which were more complicated and required much more skill (Marthari 1990b: 452).

There is little evidence of pottery workshops from the islands, and at Akrotiri no workshop has been found. It has been suggested that during the early Late Cycladic period at Akrotiri, the increase in variety of vessel shapes and the standardization of motifs was due to pottery being produced at one major center, perhaps located on the outskirts of town (Doumas 1983: 112; Papagiannopoulou 1990: 62). As nipples ewers follow older methods of manufacture, however, this might not have applied to these vessels.

3.3. PREVIOUS STUDIES

Nipples ewers are mentioned, and sometimes discussed, in the excavation reports from Akrotiri on Thera (S. Marinatos 1968-1976; Doumas 1975, 1983; Doumas et al 2009; Marthari 1987, 1990a; Nikolakopoulou et al 2008) and Phylakopi on Melos (Atkinson et al. 1904; Barber 1974, 2007; Davis & Cherry 2007; Dawkins & Droop 1911). Other reports discuss finds of nipples ewers from sites outside of the Cyclades (Cadogan 1977-1978; Caskey 1957; Jones 1978; Shaw et al. 1978; Zerner 1990).

There have also been a few studies dedicated to the discussion of nipples ewers, particularly regarding their symbolism. One is Iris Tzachili's paper "Of Earrings, Swallows and Thera Ladies" (1986), which focuses on vases from Akrotiri. Heather M. Russell's "Sacred or Profane: Swallow-Painted Nipped Ewers from Akrotiri" (2006) also deals with the Akrotiri vases, specifically those with swallow decoration. And Marijke Meekers's "The Nipped Ewer on Thera Pottery" (1990) again focuses on Akrotiri finds, though here the focus is on the use of nipples ewers as a motif on other vessels.

Lucy Goodison looks at nipples ewers and their possible symbolism in her recent paper "Horizon and Body: Some Aspects of Cycladic Symbolism" (2008). And Nanno Marinatos discusses these vessels, along with other finds, in her paper "Minoan-Cycladic Syncretism" (1990: 371). Her article "Minoan Theskeiocracy on Thera" (1984b) also mentions these vessels, while in her book *Art and Religion in Thera: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Society* (1984a) she interprets a number of possible religious scenes and motifs from the art of Akrotiri. Additionally, Rose Mary Washbourne's book *Out of the Mouths of Pots* (2000), while focusing on Cypriot pottery, also looks briefly at nipples ewers and offers an interpretation of their symbolism (2000: 78-79).

Marisa Marthari has published a few papers discussing symbolism in Thera pottery. In "The Local Pottery Wares with Painted Decoration from the Volcanic Destruction Level of Akrotiri, Thera" (1987), she looks at nipples ewers along with other vessels. Her more recent article "The Attraction of the Pictorial: Observations on the Relationship of Thera Pottery and Thera Fresco Iconography" (2000) explores relationships between motifs in ceramics and wall paintings, particularly swallow symbolism.

Angelia Papagiannopoulou recently discussed Thera Middle Cycladic pictorial pottery in her article "From Pots to Pictures: Middle Cycladic Figurative Art from Akrotiri, Thera" (2008). This includes one vase with a pictorial scene that possibly includes a nipples ewer. She also discusses nipples ewers and other Middle Cycladic pottery from Akrotiri in her paper "Some Changes in the BA Pottery Production at Akrotiri and Their Possible Implications" (1990). Sara A. Immerwahr looks at the relationship between pictorial motifs on Cycladic ceramics and wall paintings in her paper "Swallows and Dolphins at Akrotiri: Some Thoughts on the Relation of Vase-Painting to Wall-Painting" (1990), including swallow motifs on nipples ewers.

Various scholars have published works discussing representations of possible goddesses and their associated symbolism, and some of these mention nipples on ewers. In Marija Gimbutas's book *The Language of the Goddess* (1989: 36), she includes Cycladic nipples on ewers as possible representations of a goddess, while Anne Baring and Jules Cashford also mention these vases in their book *The Myth of the Goddess: Evolution of an Image* (1991).

Finally, there have been a number of studies discussing the origins of different Cycladic vessel shapes and fabrics, particularly from Akrotiri. One of these is a paper by V. Kilikoglou, C. Doumas, A. Papagiannopoulou, E. V. Sayre, Y. Maniatis and A. P. Grimanis entitled "A Study of Middle and Late Cycladic Pottery from Akrotiri" (1990). Here a number of nipples on ewers are included in their examination. And Marisa Marthari looks at the technology used to manufacture these and other vessels from Akrotiri in her paper "Investigation of the Technology of Manufacture of the Local LBA Thera Pottery: Archaeological Consideration" (1990b).

4. The Find Contexts of Nippled Ewers

4.1. PRESENTATION OF FIND CONTEXTS: AKROTIRI AND THERA

The Akrotiri finds are unusually well preserved, and in some cases houses were still standing to a height of more than one story when excavated (Doumas 1983: 29). During the final stage of habitation at the site, in the early Late Cycladic period, Akrotiri may have been about 200,000 square meters in size and have had several thousand inhabitants (Doumas 1983: 45).

Ten buildings at the site have been partially excavated (Doumas 1983: 48). These ten buildings are large and well constructed and were described by the original excavator as probably “the most prominent buildings of the whole town” (S. Marinatos 1974: 34). The style of the Akrotiri buildings is also different from that seen at other Cycladic sites at this time. They are independent structures, more similar to Minoan ‘villas’ than what is common in the Cyclades, and their appearance may have been inspired by Minoan architecture (Doumas 1982: 9).

It is not known how many people lived in each building, or what the relationship between the different buildings and their inhabitants were. It has been suggested that these served as either the homes of important officials or as public buildings (Barber 1987: 216-217). In some cases, single rooms held over 100 ceramic vessels and other objects (S. Marinatos 1969: 18-26; S. Marinatos 1971: 21; S. Marinatos 1972: 20-22; S. Marinatos 1974: 21; Doumas 1983: 31). Most of this is locally made pottery, with jugs and drinking cups among the most numerous shapes (Marthari 1990a: 61; S. Marinatos 1969: 38). Also, in almost every building not just one but multiple nipples ewers were found, both in upper story rooms and basements. It is therefore possible that every household at Akrotiri possessed a number of these vessels (N. Marinatos 1990: 371).

It appears that in Late Cycladic households in general, upper stories were commonly used as living quarters and sometimes also as the setting for weaving and other crafts (Barber 1987: 50-51). Downstairs rooms and basements were used as mills, granaries, storerooms, workshops, cooking areas and in some cases possibly as shops and distribution centers (Barber 1987: 51, 216; Doumas 1983: 53-54). In the Akrotiri buildings or households, upstairs areas appear to have been used both as living spaces and leisure rooms and probably as the setting for domestic ritual activities (Barber 1987: 216). Some of the find contexts of

the Akrotiri nipples ewers have been interpreted as shrines or the storerooms of shrines, though such interpretations have been contested (see Doumas 1983: 53-54).

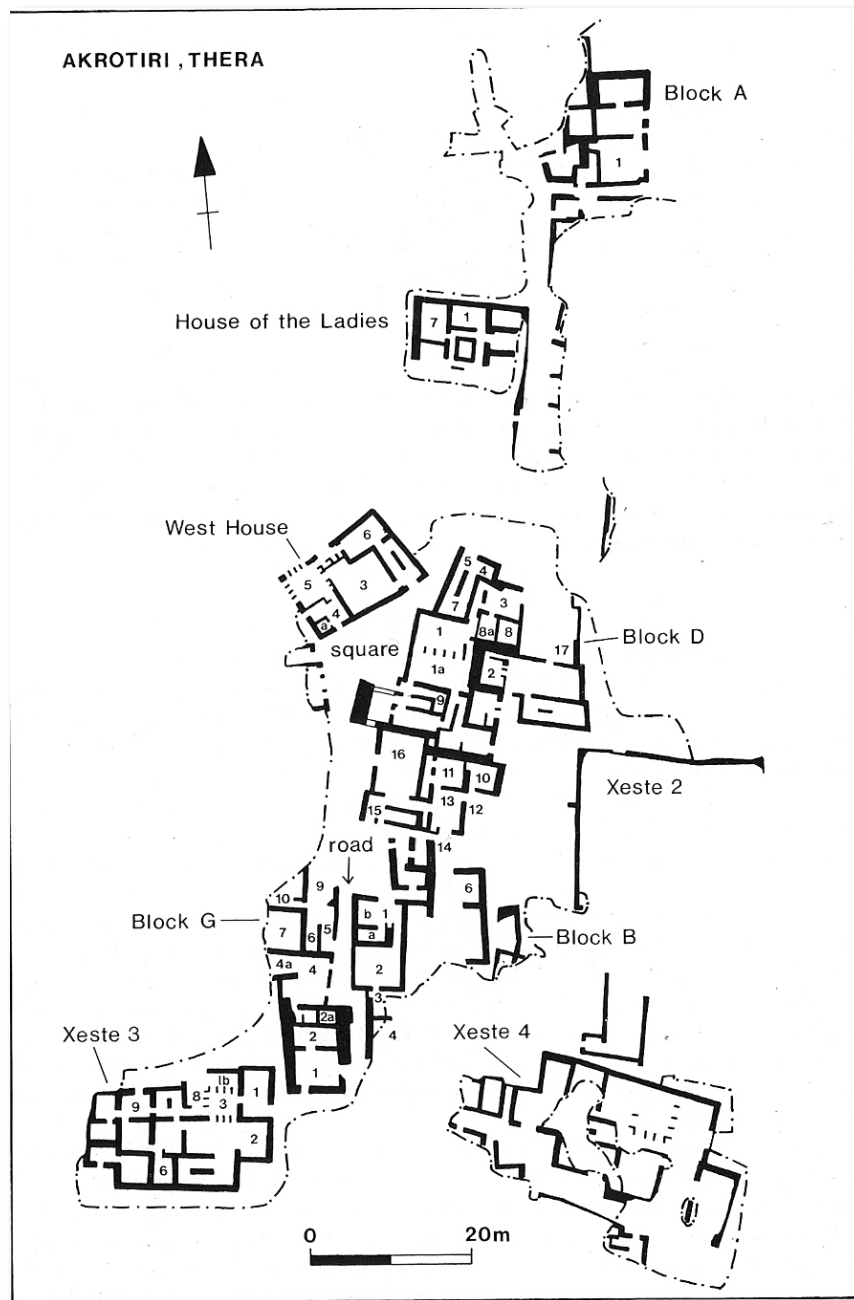


Figure 4: Site Map of Akrotiri, Thera
(Barber 1987: Figure 144)

4.1.1. Building Delta

Delta is a large and complex multi-storied building, and several of the rooms are quite large. One entrance to the building also had a *pylon* or elaborate gateway built around it, one of the earliest entrances of this kind in the Cyclades (see S. Marinatos 1976: 12-17, 28-30). The central part of the upper story contains a *polythyron*, probably a feature inspired by Minoan architecture (Doumas 1982: 9). This room contained storage jars, loom weights and a built stone-and-clay hearth with a pitcher set beside it (Barber 1987: 211). Another large room, Delta 16, contained a large number of luxury and other vessels, some with traces of organic substances inside, as well as probable religious objects like triton shells and ostrich egg *rhyta* (Barber 1987: 209-210; S. Marinatos 1971: 10-20; S. Marinatos 1972: 20-22; N. Marinatos 1984b: 171). Basement storerooms in this building held bronze vessels and tools, fresco fragments, ceramic vases, a boar's head *rhyton* and a clay table of offerings, the latter two probable religious objects as well (Barber 1987: 211; S. Marinatos 1976: 14-15).

Vase A1 was found suspended in the upper layers of volcanic ash filling a ground-floor corridor, and therefore seems to have fallen from the upper story room Delta 7 (S. Marinatos 1971: 13). Delta 7 contained a circular, concave stone that S. Marinatos interpreted as used for grinding grain or other vegetal matter (1971: 15). The room also had a semi-circular, built hearth. This hearth was covered in slate-stones and white plaster, and was surrounded by a low border of plastered stones. In the center of the hearth were traces of fire. It was originally suggested that the hearth might have served as an altar (S. Marinatos 1971: 15; Barber 1987: 211). In addition, room Delta 7 contained dozens of small, handleless cups (S. Marinatos 1971: 15), which are a Minoan style of cup also called conical cups (see Gillis 1990: 133).

A34 and A35 were found in room Delta 2, a storeroom. A35 had fallen from a room above Delta 2 and was, like A1, suspended in volcanic ash in the upper level of the room (S. Marinatos 1971: 20, Plate 39b). Room Delta 2 was originally interpreted as a ground-floor room, but may originally have been on an upper floor. Its original entrance was a *polythyron*, later converted into a wall with a door and window (Barber 1987: 210). Delta 2 is a small room with quite thick walls, and it contained a number of ceramic vessels and other objects. It was named the "Lilies Room", after a wall painting of lilies and flying swallows that was found intact on its walls (S. Marinatos 1971: 21-22 and Colour Plate A). The room originally had built-in shelving on three of its four walls, and the fact that this shelving was

incorporated into the wall painting suggests that the room had always been intended as a storeroom (S. Marinatos 1971: 21).

In addition to A34 and A35, finds from room Delta 2 include many conical cups, goblets, different styles of ewers, a clay lamp, a stirrup jar and the imprint of a wooden bed-frame that was left in the volcanic ash filling the room (S. Marinatos 1971: 20-24). In the northern wall was a built closet, entered by a narrow tunnel in one corner of the wall. Inside this closet were clay roasting grills, loom weights, and a three-legged or tripodal clay cooking pot with a double-axe sign engraved on its underside (Barber 1987: 210-211; S. Marinatos 1971: 20-21). In addition, at least one pot in room Delta 2 contained traces of barley flour or bran (S. Marinatos 1971: 22).

A39 was found in room Delta 9,1, a ground-floor storeroom. This room also held a number of fine ceramic vessels, including locally made and imported Minoan *kyathoi* or small, one-handled bowls. Also from Delta 9,1 was the earliest Syrian imported *amphora* found in Greece (S. Marinatos 1976: 15).

4.1.2. Building A

The ewer A3 was found in Western room 2 of building A, which is an upper story room. This room contained few other finds apart from a small, circular, painted stucco table of the type called a 'table of offerings' (S. Marinatos 1969: 20). In the filling beneath the floor of this room, a small *rhyton* in the form of a bull and some other ceramic vessels were found (S. Marinatos 1970: 11-12, 58-59; N. Marinatos 1984b: 169). This room is connected to a mill room, which contained numerous millstones, a stone slab for receiving ground flour, a basket filled with sea urchins, and a clay tub or *larnax* (S. Marinatos 1969: 30; S. Marinatos 1970: 13-15). The *larnax* may have served a secondary use in this setting for the storing of flour, cereals or legumes (Doulas 1983: 110; Barber 1987: 216). Both the mill room and Western Room 2 opened onto the ancient street through a small, paved anteroom with a stone bench opposite the door (S. Marinatos 1970: 15).

Beneath these rooms is a basement area made up of three connecting rooms. These storerooms contained a number of ceramic vessels and other finds (S. Marinatos 1969: 15-20).

Among these were at least three large storage jars still containing traces of barley flour, and a one-handled vase interpreted as a scoop used to distribute a daily portion of flour or barley (S. Marinatos 1970: 52). One of the basement rooms had a large window, and may have been a shop. It also contained a built hearth against one wall, with a stone vessel sunken into the floor beside it, as well as mortars and grinders. A group of loom weights had probably fallen from the upper story (Barber 1987: 215). One storage jar contained, beneath traces of flour, a crude figurine of unbaked clay (S. Marinatos 1969: 25-6, 53; S. Marinatos 1970: 9).

A4 and A5 were found in these basement storerooms as well. They were among a group of seven vases placed on a windowsill in magazine 2 (S. Marinatos 1969: Plan XI). Two of the vases with them were finely decorated, imported ewers, but the other vases – two *chous* or pitchers, and one globular vase – were more plainly decorated (S. Marinatos 1969: 22). Both this storeroom room and the two connecting to it were completely packed with pottery and other finds, some of which may have fallen from the upper-story rooms of the house (S. Marinatos 1969: 18).

Among the objects that may have fallen from upstairs rooms, and may originally have been associated with Western room 2 and vase A3, are a series of miniature jugs and other small vessels. Other finds are a group of small, handleless cups or conical cups, one of which was filled with charcoal, and a *rhyton* in the shape of a lion's head. Another conical *rhyton*, a finely decorated ewer, and a painted *kymbe* or small, rectangular ceramic vessel may also have fallen from above (S. Marinatos 1969: 19-20).

A8 and A9 were found in building A, but very little information was provided in the excavation reports regarding their exact find context (see S. Marinatos 1969: Plate 36,3). I am not certain if these vessels were from the basement storerooms. These may be the same as vases A4 and A5, but as no reference was made to A4 and A5 in the illustrations of A8 and A9 I have listed these as separate vessels.

4.1.3. Building Beta

Building Beta, a large building to the south of building Delta, also contained nipples ewers. A2 was found in the upper-story room Beta 2. This was among a group of ceramic vessels,

including storage jars and strainers, gathered around a stone column base in the center of the room (S. Marinatos 1968: 39; 1969: 13-14; 1976: Plan B). Other finds from this room include a stone basin, and a *kernos* or stone slab covered in shallow cavities (S. Marinatos 1969: 15-16; Barber 1987: 207). The walls of the room were originally plastered. The excavator originally interpreted this room as a shrine, and believed that the underlying basement would provide finds to support this interpretation (S. Marinatos 1968: 46). However, the basement was an ordinary kitchen storeroom containing drinking cups, jugs, other utensils and fifty-three tripodal cooking-pots that were all blackened by fire (S. Marinatos 1976: 20). The evidence from the basement, then, suggests that building Beta was primarily a domestic rather than religious building.

Vases A10 to A21, a group of twelve small nipped ewers, were found together in room Beta 6. This ground-floor storeroom was also named the Room of Monkeys after fresco fragments of blue monkeys that were discovered there (S. Marinatos 1970: 34-35). These fragments probably fell from a room above Beta 6. Along with the nipped ewers, a few decorated ceramic vases were stored on the earthen floor of this room. This includes an imported Middle Minoan vase and five small beaked jugs.

A36 was found in room Beta 1, an upper-story room adjoining Beta 2. This room was also originally interpreted as a shrine (S. Marinatos 1971: 29). Like Beta 2, the floor of Beta 1 is paved with flagstones, and its walls are plastered and, in this case, are decorated with a painting of antelopes and boxing youths (S. Marinatos 1971: 29, 33; S. Marinatos 1969: 13). The floor of the room contained a few small, stone-lined storage areas (S. Marinatos 1971: 29). A36 was among the finds in these storage areas. Other finds include a pair of goblets, three large beaked ewers, two painted tables of offerings, a stirrup-jar and some other vessels. The room may also have originally held a ladder leading down to the basement below (S. Marinatos 1971: 29 and 31).

Similarly to Beta 2, the basement room beneath Beta 1 was plain and utilitarian. It was an oblong storeroom with a narrow passage in the center, and a row of large storage jars on either side. These fourteen or so storage jars or *pithoi* were built into a stone structure resembling a bench (S. Marinatos 1976: 17). Other finds from the room include a number of stone implements, mostly pestles, and five or so plain conical *rhyta*. These *rhyta* probably served as ladles and measures for dispensing what was originally stored in the jars: probably

wine, oil or grain (S. Marinatos 1976: 19; Barber 1987: 208). In this context, *rhyta* may have served a utilitarian or non-religious function.

4.1.4. *The House of the Ladies*

A37 was found in the upper story Room 7 of this building. This room contained a number of ceramic vessels, many found in cupboards built into the walls or in the stone-lined storage areas built into the floor. Among these are a large ewer filled with lime, many conical *rhyta*, flowerpots, conical cups, a painted *kymbe* and triton shells (S. Marinatos 1974: 9-10; Barber 1987: 214). A nearby room held an unfinished stone vase (N. Marinatos 1984b: 172).

Room 7 was originally interpreted as a storeroom related to a shrine (S. Marinatos 1974: 10). The possible shrine is Room 2 of the same building, a room decorated with a wall painting depicting a pictorial scene of a woman holding out what may be a piece of cloth to another seated woman. Part of this painting is pictured in Figure 16 of this study. The entire scene is probably a religious and symbolic scene (Barber 1987: 214; N. Marinatos 1984a: 97-105; N. Marinatos 1984b: 171; S. Marinatos 1972: 40-41). Room 2 contained a number of conical cups, goblets, a cooking pot, a triton shell and *rhyton*, a vessel containing seeds and ivory fragments. The original excavator interpreted both conical cups and triton shells as objects belonging to an Aegean cult assemblage (S. Marinatos 1972: 13; N. Marinatos 1984b: 171). In Room 7, however, some of the built storage areas may have actually fallen from the third story and had no direct association to Room 2 (Doulas 1983: 82).

4.1.5. *The West House*

Vase A38 was found in this building, which was probably a wealthy household (S. Marinatos 1974: 19-31). The West House has been interpreted as the private home of a seafarer, which may be supported by the theme of the sea visible in a number of the wall paintings and other objects from the house, as well as the large amount of imported pottery found there (Marthari 2000: 885). This vase was located in a built cupboard in Room 3, the large central room of

the house (S. Marinatos 1974: 21-22, Plate 37b). Other finds from this room include ceramic vessels, a clay *rhyton*, and a stone trough that was placed beneath a window. An adjoining storeroom held at least 105 ceramic vessels and other objects, including a large, unspecified number of conical cups, a beaked pitcher and a pile of 10 lead weights, all of which were probably originally placed on wooden shelving (S. Marinatos 1974: 21).

The other upper-story rooms in this building were decorated with wall paintings and held a number of finds. One room, Room 5, was originally described as a parlor, while a smaller adjoining room was interpreted as a bedroom. Among other finds, Room 5 contained a single leg of a painted table of offerings, though this did not result in the room being interpreted as a shrine. Similarly, the discovery of the *rhyton* in Room 3 and the many conical cups in the neighboring storeroom did not lead to such an interpretation being applied to these rooms (S. Marinatos 1974: 22-24).

A22 to A33 are a group of twelve nipples ewers that were found in the layer of pumice and volcanic ash covering the ancient street against the northeastern corner of the West House. It was originally supposed they these vases must have fallen from one of the upper-story windows of the West House, after a thick layer of pumice had already accumulated in the street (S. Marinatos 1971: 12). It is extraordinary, however, that all twelve vessels had fallen together.

A49, A50 and A51 are three Middle Cycladic nipples ewers that were buried beneath the floor and associated layers of fill of Rooms 3, 4 and 5. These vases were placed in pits cut into the bedrock, together with a number of other vessels. The pits were then buried beneath layers of clay and fill (Marthari 1990a: 61; Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 311). Fifteen completely intact vases were found in this context, including a number of cups and bowls (Marthari 1990a: 66; Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 311). It was suggested that these pits and their finds may have been foundation deposits, though similar pits have not been searched for beneath other houses to investigate if this practice was common for late Middle Cycladic Akrotiri (Marthari 1990a: 67).

4.1.6. Xeste 3

A40 was found in building Xeste 3, though the exact room was not stated in the original excavation reports (see S. Marinatos 1976: 29; N. Marinatos 1984b: 175). Xeste 3, another large building, contained a number of interesting and probably symbolic wall paintings, as well as other unusual rooms and features. One of these is a Minoan-style *adyton* or lustral basin, a type of room known from the Minoan palaces on Crete that mostly likely served a religious function (N. Marinatos 1984a: 14, 73, Figure 51; N. Marinatos 1993: 77-87, Figure 66). Xeste 3 is the only building at Akrotiri that is most often interpreted as a public building, and it has been suggested that this was once the setting for communal ceremonies and festivals (Angelopoulou 2000: 547; Vlachopoulos 2008: 453; N. Marinatos 1984a: 72; Marthari 2000: 885). The clearly religious theme of many of its wall paintings has been used as evidence to support this interpretation, though as with all the buildings at Akrotiri the exact use of Xeste 3 is uncertain.

A number of other nipples ewers were also found in this building. A41 and A42 were found in Room 9, a small room located towards the back of the building. The floor level and exact context of Room 9 are unclear. Also found in this room were two beaked ewers, fragments of a wall painting with spiral patterning (Doumas 1975: 218-220, Plate 192), and fresco fragments depicting plant motifs (Vlachopoulos 2008: 454, Figures 41.41-41.43).

Another six nipples ewers were found in Room 13, another small room towards the back of Xeste 3, located near to Room 9. Along with these ewers, A43 to A48, were found two bridge-spouted jugs, a spherical jug, an *amphora*, a fruit stand and a small *pithos* (Doumas 1975: 222-223, Figure 1, Plates 194 & 195). Fragments of a wall painting, possibly depicting a griffin and other animals, were also found in this room (Vlachopoulos 2008: Figure 41.45).

4.1.7. Vases with Unclear Contexts

The find contexts of vases A52, A53, A54 and A55 were not mentioned in the sources in which I encountered these vessels.

A6 was uncovered when a hole opened up in the ground in an otherwise unexcavated area of Akrotiri (S. Marinatos 1969: 33). Its context is within the architectural remains of the town.

This ewer also appears to have been newly made at the time of the destruction of the site. It was therefore originally supposed that a pottery kiln might have existed near the area where this vessel was found. The area was named the Chimney House (S. Marinatos 1969: 34).

A7 is unusual in its shape and decoration, because it has two vertical protuberances at the base of its spout (S. Marinatos 1969: 41-42) and because its body is uniformly white, with no painted decoration. However, very little information was provided in the original excavation reports regarding its exact find context (see S. Marinatos 1969: 41-42, Plate 36,2).

4.1.8. Other Sites on Thera

A56 is a nipples ewer from the site of Megalochori on Thera. The site is located slightly to the northeast of Akrotiri, on the southern part of the island (see Doumas et al 2009: 27, Map of Thera). Megalochori was inhabited during the Middle Bronze Age, and was abandoned after being destroyed by the same earthquake that damaged Middle Cycladic Akrotiri. Unlike Akrotiri, however, Megalochori was not rebuilt in the early Late Cycladic or Late Cycladic I period (Doumas et al. 2009: 20 and Figure 12). Unfortunately no information on the exact find context of this jug was provided in the original source.

4.2. PRESENTATION OF FIND CONTEXTS: OTHER SITES

4.2.1. Phylakopi and Melos

The site of Phylakopi, and the island of Melos, is another important source of nipples ewers. Many of the Melian nipples ewers were discovered during quite early excavations at Phylakopi, however, and in some cases their exact find contexts are not stated in the original reports. Also, in some cases nipples ewers are not differentiated from beaked jugs when the ceramic finds are mentioned in descriptions of individual rooms (see Atkinson et al. 1904: 15; Edgar 1904: 98, 108). This is the case with vessels P1, P5 and P6.

P2 is from a large, central room in a Middle Cycladic building or household. Other finds mentioned from this room are four cups, a vase decorated with goblins and sherds of Light-on-Dark vessels, possibly Middle Minoan imports or local imitations of Minoan vessels (Atkinson et al. 1904: 15, 41, 260; Dawkins & Droop 1911: 10).

P3 is thought to be from Melos but is without context, and P4 is not discussed in the original excavation reports.

P7, P8 and P9 were found in trenches IIE and IID I in more recent excavations at Phylakopi, though P7 is the only definite nipples ewer in this group (Barber 2007: 204). These trenches belong to a connecting area in the remains of a large building or mansion. This mansion is located beneath a Late Cycladic *megaron* in the northern area of the town. The building may have functioned as the administrative center of the town (Barber 1984: 181). Trenches IIE and IID I held a built stone bench and traces of a built hearth. A stone lamp or quern with a runnel, and a plain beaked jug were intact on the floor. Sherds of other vessels, including plain and decorated cups, bowls, jugs, jars and basins were also found. Another interesting find from this area is an Early Cycladic intramural burial of a newborn baby (Barber 2007: 182-264; Renfrew et al. 2007: 6-9, 26-30).

P10 is a possible nipples ewer from Middle Cycladic contexts in the same mansion. It was discovered in trench IIC, which is comprised of two smaller, connecting rooms in the northeastern corner of the building. Many pottery fragments, including plain and decorated cups, bowls, jars and basins were found here. Also from this area were sherds of Middle Minoan imported vessels including an amphora and strainer, terracotta loom weights and spindle whorls, and a stone quern. The trench also contained a built hearth and a grain bin. Similarly to in trenches IIE and IID I, an Early Cycladic intramural jar burial of an infant was also discovered here (Barber 2007: 182-264; Renfrew et al. 2007: 41-49, 408-411). Such intramural infant burials were also found during earlier excavations at this site (Atkinson et al. 1904: 15; Dawkins & Droop 1911: 8-9).

P11, P12 and P13 are fragments of three Late Cycladic nipples ewers. These vessels were found in trench PLa at Phylakopi, located near the Late Cycladic sanctuary discussed by Renfrew (see Renfrew 1985; Renfrew et al. 2007: 65 and Figure 3.41). The area of trench PLa seems to have had a temporary fire or hearth at one time, as there are traces of burning in one section of the trench. P11, P12 and P13 were found in an area of fill that also contained fragments of cups, bowls, jars and a possible *rhyton*. Fragments of painted plaster from wall

paintings were also found here, as was a painted table of offerings (Davis & Cherry 2007: 273-296; Morgan & Cameron 2007: 391-395; Renfrew et al. 2007: 64-66, 73-75).

4.2.2. Finds from Mainland Greece

G1 is from Grave BD 19 at the mainland site of Lerna. This grave dates to the Middle Helladic period (Caskey 1957: 152; Zerner 1990: 23, 33). All of the Lerna graves at this time are intramural burials within the walls of the town (Zerner 1990: 23). Grave BD 19 contained the remains of a 39-year-old man, buried with G1 and another imported Cycladic vessel: a strainer. Both vessels were placed beside his right arm. G1 is probably originally from either Thera (Zerner 1990: 24) or Melos (Caskey 1957: 152).

Another nipples ewer, G2, was found in Grave Circle B at Mycenae, an area dating to the early Late Bronze Age (see Mylonas 1973: 58). It is not clear from the illustration whether this vase has plastic breasts, though it is mentioned as being nipples in one source (see Barber 1984: Discussion). G2 was found in Tomb Gamma, a burial containing the bodies of three men and one woman (S. Marinatos 1969: 42-43; Mylonas 1964: 5). This tomb held a number of other grave goods, including other ceramic vessels – none of them mentioned as imports – gold and silver cups, necklaces of gold and semi-precious stones, and a mask made of electrum (Mylonas 1973: 52, 55, Figure 21). The decoration on G2 is quite similar to other swallow-painted vases from Thera, and the vase is therefore probably a Theran import (S. Marinatos 1969: 42-43; Barber 1984: Discussion).

4.2.3. Finds from Crete

C1, C2 and C3 are three nipples ewers found in the same room of a large country house at the village of Pyrgos, on the southern coast of Crete. The site is located on a hilltop over a river valley, near land routes to central and eastern Crete. Pyrgos was inhabited over a very long period of time, from the Early Minoan period into the early Late Minoan period

(Cadogan 1977-1978: 70). It appears to have been a rich settlement, with many crafts practiced there and many seals used (Cadogan 1977-1978: 84).

The context of vases C1 to C3 dates to the early Late Minoan period, though earlier contact with the Cyclades is attested by the find of a Black-and-Red style Cycladic jug found in Middle Minoan contexts (Cadogan 1977-1978: 70, 76, Figure 19). These three vases were in an upper story room, located above a basement storage area that contained *pithoi* and jars. The room where C1 to C3 were found also held stone and clay vases, including a Minoan stirrup jar and two amphoras. The country house was multiple stories tall and contained one room that was probably a domestic shrine. In this shrine was a red faience conch shell, fragments of Egyptian stone vases, a bronze rosette that was possibly a wall decoration, and clay tubular offering stands. A Linear A tablet was also found there, recording 90 units of wine (Cadogan 1977-1978: 76-80).

C4 is from the site of Kommos in southern Crete, a harbor town built on a hilltop, near to the Minoan palace of Phaistos. The site was occupied during both the Middle and Late Minoan periods. C4 was found in a ground-floor corridor of a Middle Minoan building (Shaw et al. 1978: 111, 156, Figure 1). The rest of this building was not excavated, however, so little can be said about the overall architectural context. C4 had probably fallen from an upper story or from shelving, along with a Minoan cup, bowl, jug and stand. Other vases from this area include conical and other cups, jars and Minoan household vessels such as a tripod cooking pot and baking plate. Many of these vases, including the cups and jars, were of fine fabric and probably were used as tableware (Shaw et al. 1978: 155-158).

C4 was identified as an import from Thera or Melos, based on a study of its ceramic fabric (Jones 1978: 478, 481). Two other Middle Cycladic vases were found at this site, though not in the same area as C4. These other Cycladic imports are a painted jug, and a closed vessel that is probably a Black-and-Red style vase (see Betancourt 1984: 92).

4.3. DISCUSSION OF THE FIND CONTEXTS

As the greatest number of nipped ewers in my catalogue are from Akrotiri, and the find contexts and related finds there are better preserved than at Phylakopi, my discussion will focus on the Akrotiri finds. More specifically, I will focus on the type of find context that I

believe appears to be most common at Akrotiri: that of households, or domestic contexts. The Xeste 3 finds may be an exception to this, since it is more commonly supposed that this was a public rather than private building. If true, this interpretation indicates that nipples ewers could also be used in public or communal settings. This could also be the case with the find contexts of Phylakopi vases P7 to P10. The find context of P11 to P13 is less clear, and these vases may have been deliberately discarded near the sanctuary area, along with the table of offerings and other related objects.

Of the Akrotiri vases, I have only encountered only two groups that are clearly not from household contexts. One of these is the twelve vases A22 to A33, found in the street outside the West House. These vases may have originated in the West House however, though it is unclear why they were located in the street during the volcanic eruption. The other exception is the Middle Cycladic vases A38 to A40, which may have functioned as foundation deposits. The Cretan finds seem, like the Akrotiri and probably Phylakopi vases, to be from household contexts. It is interesting that three of these vases were found in the same room of a Minoan home. The site of Pyrgos appears to have been quite conservative in its religious observances as, for example, the same communal tomb was used continuously at that site from the Early into the Late Minoan period (Cadogan 1977-1978: 84). Thus the discovery of three Cycladic symbolic vases in a local home there is intriguing.

The earlier mainland grave find, G1, provides an interesting contrast to the contexts of the Akrotiri and Phylakopi vessels. Unlike G2, the context of G1 dates to an early period in the manufacture of nipples ewers. Also, the Lerna burial contained few additional goods, the only other find also being a Cycladic imported vase. Therefore, the connotations of G1 may be different from the Mycenae find, perhaps representing more than a simple grave offering. I will begin by briefly discussing this, as well as the possible foundation deposits at Akrotiri. I will not discuss the Cretan finds, however, as I wish to focus my discussion on the function of these vessels in the Cyclades.

4.3.1. Graves and Foundation Deposits

The Lerna grave, and the possible Akrotiri foundation deposits, demonstrate how the current understanding of the find contexts of these vessels might not encompass the full picture of all the ways these vessels were used, particularly during the later Middle Cycladic period. In the case of Cycladic burials especially, little is known from this and from the Late Cycladic periods (Overbeck 1989: 204; Barber 1987: 184-185; Branigan 1984: 52). There does seem to have been some change in burial customs following the Early Cycladic period (Goodison 2008: 421, 423). It is possible that a greater number of nipped ewers were deposited in graves than is currently known. However, the large number of these vessels that are found in settlements and especially household contexts demonstrates that these were not created primarily for use in burials.

G1 is from a Middle Helladic grave, and for that reason I cannot relate it directly to Cycladic burial practices. This vase was probably imported from Thera (Zerner 1990: 24). It is interesting that both this and the accompanying strainer are of Cycladic origin, and that both are shapes commonly found in Cycladic household contexts, at least during the early Late Cycladic period at Akrotiri. As a result, both G1 and the strainer appear to have had a quite different type of function at this mainland site.

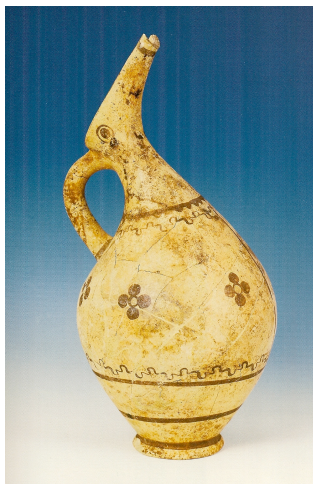


Figure 5: Middle Cycladic Beaked Jug, Thera (Doumas et al. 2009: Figure 3)

As the Lerna grave dates to the Middle Bronze Age, it is from a time when the nipped ewer shape was a recent development in the Cyclades. This vase would therefore have represented current trends in the Cycladic culture and art, rather than a long-standing tradition. Whether nipped ewers imparted a symbolism that was understandable to the inhabitants of Lerna, or whether this vase was a curiosity to its Helladic owners, or whether the man buried there was of Cycladic origin, is not known. G1 is interpreted as a

burial offering rather than a vessel used during the burial ritual (Zerner 1990: 31). The accompanying strainer, however, was interpreted as a ritual vase probably used during burial (Zerner 1990: 24).

Another Middle Cycladic beaked jug is remarkably similar to G1, and contemporary with it. This jug, pictured here in Figure 5, was found in a grave at the Karageorghis Quarry on Thera

(Doumas 1983: 162 and Plate 34; pictured here in Figure 5). The Theran jug has no breasts, but otherwise the shape of the body and spout, the positioning and appearance of the painted eyes and of the rosette motifs on the body are almost identical to G1. The similarities between these two vases suggest to me that the symbolism represented by the earlier nipples ewers is directly linked to earlier Dark-on-Light beaked jugs, and may have evolved from this tradition. A similar idea has been suggested previously (Marthari 1987: 372). Perhaps, at least on the Theran Middle Cycladic vases, other elements of vessel shape and decoration could impart the same symbolism as nipples ewers, even without the addition of plastic breasts. If so, then the jug shown here in Figure 5 demonstrates that the nipples ewer could also have served in Cycladic burials, at least during the Middle Cycladic period.

The possibility that these vessels were used in foundation deposits during the end of the Middle Cycladic period is also an interesting one, though A49 to A51 are the only examples I have encountered from the Cyclades. Possible foundation deposits involving vases with bird symbolism have also been discovered on Crete. One example is from Early Minoan Pyrgos, where a dove *rhyton* was buried beneath a paved court along with a jug and cups (Cadogan 1977-1978: 71).

The earlier Middle Cycladic town of Akrotiri had been severely damaged by an earthquake, and was completely rebuilt at the end of the Middle Cycladic period. There are many instances at Akrotiri of Middle Cycladic pottery being used as sealing layers for underlying structures, and as leveling strata to create new open spaces in the town (Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 313). It is possible that A49, A50 and A51 merely functioned as part of this general fill. As Marthari (1990a: 67) points out, similar pits would need to be searched for beneath other buildings before anything definitive could be said about whether or not the practice of creating foundation deposits was common there at that time. However, the pits into which these vases were placed were deliberately cut into the bedrock, and both these vases and other pottery from the same context were buried completely intact (Marthari 1990a: 61, 66; Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 311). This seems to signify a deliberate deposition, beyond use as general fill.

4.3.2. Household Mills and Domestic Ritual

The original interpretations of many of the Akrotiri rooms, and the objects they contained, make it clear that the excavator, S. Marinatos, believed a number of rooms to be either shrines or associated with shrines. It has also been suggested by other scholars that Cycladic household industries, particularly mill installations and the act of bread making, were related to religious beliefs and rituals and that mill-rooms contained religious objects (Barber 1987: 188). In addition, many of the wall paintings in Akrotiri households have been interpreted as religious scenes, or as containing religious symbolism, and could indicate that rituals were performed there (Barber 1987: 51; N. Marinatos 1984a: 21; N. Marinatos 1984b: 168-169). Yet the question of whether different rooms and objects at Akrotiri were reserved solely for ritual use, and the degree to which the wall paintings depict religious or symbolic scenes, is the subject of ongoing discussion. It has also been suggested that there is no direct evidence any of the Akrotiri rooms were used as shrines (Doulas 1983: 53-54). Both the religious and the non-religious or utilitarian interpretations need to be considered in order to better understand the find contexts of the Akrotiri nipple ewers. I begin with a discussion of mill installations and other forms of household industry.

Mills were discovered in most of the excavated buildings of Akrotiri (Doulas 1983: 54). One was identified in the ground-floor room Delta 15 of building Delta (S. Marinatos 1972: 22). This mill has a window and door opening onto a courtyard in the ancient street. As a result, it was suggested that the grain ground there might have been distributed to people outside the household, similar to what might have occurred at Minoan palaces (S. Marinatos 1972: 22-24; Barber 1987: 208; N. Marinatos 1984b: 169, 171). The mill-room contained a stone bench, where the grain was probably ground, a few millstones, a large ceramic vase for holding grain, and smaller handled vases that were probably used to measure out portions of flour (S. Marinatos 1972: 23-24).

It was not suggested at the time of excavation that Delta 15 also acted as a shrine or that the activities performed there involved religious rituals, and none of the objects found there seem to have religious connotations. Also, no nipple ewers were found in or near the Delta 15 mill. The mill appears to have served a simple utilitarian purpose. It has, however, been suggested more recently that the room was connected to a shrine due to its proximity to Delta 16, which contained some probable religious objects, such as *rhyta* (N. Marinatos 1984b: 169, 171).

In this same building there is, however, a second and smaller probable mill installation, and that room also originally contained a nipples ewer. A1 had fallen from the upper-story room Delta 7, which as mentioned contained a circular grinding stone, probably used to grind grain or dried vegetables. Unlike the Delta 15 mill, this small upstairs 'mill' was probably located in the domestic living space of the house. And the Delta 7 mill was associated with a built hearth or altar, which held traces of fire. Piled near to the hearth were dozens of conical cups (S. Marinatos 1971: 14-15).

These two mills present two quite different scenarios: the Delta 15 mill appearing to have served a purely utilitarian function, and the Delta 7 finds providing a different kind of evidence. The built hearth, grinding stone, conical cups and nipples ewer certainly do provide evidence of some activity taking place in the room, and it is possible that this activity was related to household ritual and the 'worship and propitiation' of a divinity. Both hearths and conical cups have been used as evidence of religious activity in some contexts, though neither are always interpreted as part of a recognizable Aegean assemblage of religious objects (Gillis 1990: 133-135; Ainian 1997: 291; N. Marinatos 1993: 7; Wiener 1984: 20). In the case of hearths, the large size of some hearth installations in mainland and Cretan palaces had been used as evidence that they served religious purposes (Ainian 1997: 291). The hearth in Delta 7 is not particularly large.

Conical cups, which are originally a Minoan style of cup, appear to have been used both as utilitarian vessels and in religious activities, depending on the needs of their owners. Most frequently these cups occur in utilitarian contexts. They are interpreted as having ritual use when their find context is clearly related to religious activities, such as in Cretan burials, peak sanctuaries and altars in Minoan caves (Gillis 1990: 133-135; N. Marinatos 1993: 7; Wiener 1984: 20). But in the case of room Delta 7, the combination of a few types of objects all with possible domestic ritual connotations – the conical cups, built hearth, grinding stone and nipples ewer – could be seen as a religious assemblage and as evidence of religious activity. Before interpreting them as such, however, I will look at the finds from the other mills and possible shrines that also contained nipples ewers.

Room Beta 2, where ewer A2 was found, also had a grinding stone and so provides evidence that the grinding of grain or vegetal matter was performed there. The basement beneath this room contained stone pestles, another connection to grain grinding (Barber 1987: 208). Beta 2 is also located in the upper story, like Delta 7. Vase A2 was among a group of vessels

gathered around a stone column base in the center of the floor. This base would originally have supported a wooden column, and it has been suggested that this column served as the focus for some kind of ritual activity (Barber 1987: 207). Columns or pillars do appear in Minoan religious imagery, and they might have been used to mark the place where a deity could appear during a ritual (N. Marinatos 1993: 180). Thus in room Beta 2 there is a possible ‘focus of attention’ for ritual, which is not clearly visible in Delta 7. Also found in Beta 2 was a large stone basin, which may have been used as an offering table. The stone *kernos* is also significant, as this type of object is known from Crete and probably served a religious function there (S. Marinatos 1969: 15-16; N. Marinatos 1993: 7).



Figure 6: Table of Offerings from Akrotiri (Doulas et al. 2009: Figure 42)

The connecting room Beta 1 also contained some finds that suggest domestic ritual or religious activity. In particular are the nipped ewer A36 and two painted tables of offerings (S. Marinatos 1971: 28-33). These types of tables, also called tripod offering tables, are built of stone and clay with an outer coating of painted stucco. They are often decorated with pictorial scenes, made using the same techniques as for the wall paintings. Tables of offerings are usually interpreted as religious objects used in

domestic ritual activities (Doulas et al. 2009: 42; Barber 1987: 207). Similar tables are found at Phylakopi, such as that discovered with P11-P13 (Morgan & Cameron 2007: 394-395, Figures 9.12 & 9.13). Also, comparable plaster offering tables or portable hearths, as well as libation tables, are found on Crete (Evans 1903: 6; Morgan & Cameron 2007: 394; N. Marinatos 1993: 6-7).

In Beta 1, the aforementioned finds and a number of cups and ewers from the room have been interpreted as evidence of libation and drinking rituals (N. Marinatos 1984b: 173). Therefore, the similarities in the possible assemblages of religious objects between Delta 7, and Beta 2 and 1, consist of the nipped ewers and the grinding stones, and perhaps cups. The activity of preparing grain or perhaps other dried plants appears to be common to both areas. Also common is the use of nipped ewers, the act of pouring and perhaps of drinking. In addition, both rooms are located in upper-story living spaces.

Room Beta 2 did not contain a hearth, however, and no traces of burning were found on the stone basin from Beta 2 or the offering tables from Beta 1. If these objects did function as receptacles for offerings, then those offerings were probably of a different nature than offerings that might have been made on the Delta 7 hearth. And Delta 7 did not contain other objects similar to Beta 2, such as jars, strainers, a *kymbe* and *kernos* (S. Marinatos 1969: 15-16; 1971: 15).

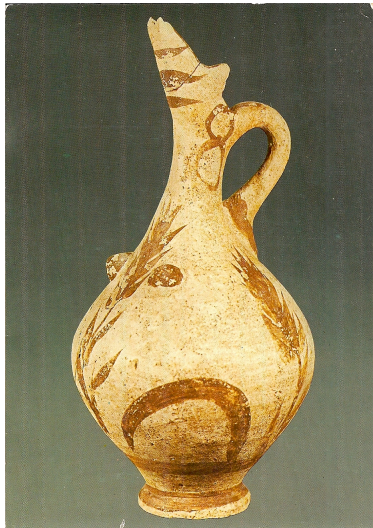


Figure 7: Vase A3 with Barley Motif
(Image from a postcard by Editions “Hannibal” 1983, Athens)

There is also another instance of a nipped ewer located within a room associated with a domestic mill installation. Western room 2 of building A contained both vase A3 and a painted table of offerings. A bull *rhyton* and other vessels were found beneath the floor of the room (see N. Marinatos 1984b: 169). Western room 2 is connected to a mill and anteroom with stone bench, both of which have been described (S. Marinatos 1969: 30-1; S. Marinatos 1970: 13-15). These three rooms were located in the upper story of building A, above a basement storage and cooking area, though they opened directly onto the ancient street through the anteroom (S. Marinatos 1969: 30-33).

These three rooms were originally interpreted as a shrine complex, similar to some domestic shrines from Minoan Crete. One example is an Early Minoan shrine at Myrtos Pyrgos, which also had an anteroom with built bench. Some Middle and Late Minoan house and palace shrines also have a number of comparable elements, such as the domestic or “dining” shrine at the palace of Phaistos. This shrine area contained a dining room with stone benches and terracotta hearth, and a connecting room with a mill installation, which also contained a jug and libation table. An outdoor hearth was located near to the shrine (N. Marinatos 1993: 98-99; S. Marinatos 1970: 15; Blake 2005: 121). The palace of Mallia on Crete also held a Middle Minoan shrine connected to a group of family-sized workshops, demonstrating that Minoan shrines could also be associated with other forms of household industry (Warren 1988: 4).

The building A mill and connecting rooms has previously been compared to Minoan shrines, and it was even suggested that this mill was used to prepare flour for sacrifices, with vase A3 used to make libation offerings as part of a domestic ritual related to harvesting barley (S.

Marinatos 1970: 15; S. Marinatos 1969: 31, 53). The finds from Western room 2, and some finds from the basement that probably fell from the upper story, do provide some evidence of religious activities. A series of miniature vessels from the basement have been interpreted as ritual vessels, as have a number of conical cups and the lion's head *rhyton* (S. Marinatos 1969: 19-20). I have mentioned that conical cups served in religious rituals in some contexts, and *rhyta* in the shape of lions' heads are known from religious contexts on Crete. At Akrotiri, zoomorphic *rhyta* probably served a similar function as on Crete (Evans 1903: 36-37; Doumas 1983: 110). Additionally, the clay figurine found within a storage jar in the basement of building A also suggests some activity related to religious beliefs (see S. Marinatos 1969: 25-26, 53; S. Marinatos 1970: 9). This figurine also draws another connection between domestic rituals and grain, in this case the storage of grain. In view of these connections, the barley motif on A3 is quite interesting and may be symbolically related to its function.

However, while the discovery of a nipples ewer and table of offerings in an upstairs room seems likely to indicate a domestic assemblage of religious objects, both the anteroom and mill of building A contained only everyday, utilitarian objects (S. Marinatos 1970: 60). The finds from the mill are more comparable to those from the Delta 15 mill than from Delta 7, Beta 2, or the Phaistos dining shrine. In the case of the Phaistos shrine in particular, the mill contained a jug and libation table in the mill room itself, with additional offering or libation tables nearby. Also, the room with stone benches was clearly a dining area designed to accommodate a number of people, and containing religious objects such as a *rhyton* and libation table (N. Marinatos 1993: 98-99). In the building A mill, apart from its proximity to Western room 2 the room appears to have been used to prepare grain for household or utilitarian purposes. Yet when looked at as a whole, the finds from these three rooms suggest that even the grinding of grain for utilitarian purposes was associated with religious beliefs and rituals of some kind. These household rituals may have involved making offerings and libations, in this case using a nipples ewer and an offering table.

4.3.3. Storerooms, Storage and Domestic Ritual

In the Akrotiri buildings or households, the evidence also suggests that the act of storage, especially the storage of grain, was also related to religious beliefs and domestic rituals. The figurine from a *pithos* in building A is one example, and has been interpreted as indicating that the contents of the jar were placed under the protection of a divinity (N. Marinatos 1984b: 169). In addition, as it seems likely that the nipples ewers in Delta 7, Beta 1 and 2 and Western room 2 were used in domestic rituals, this same connotation or meaning can also be applied to these vessels when they are found in other contexts, such as storage rooms (see Renfrew 1985: 15). Thus the fact that these vases are stored in basements with utilitarian pottery need not indicate that nipples ewers were themselves utilitarian.

The basement of building A, for example, also contained the two vases A4 and A5. These were stored on a windowsill with a group of other vases (S. Marinatos 1969: 18, 25). These basement rooms also contained storage jars, loom weights, a stone mortar, and a hearth and cooking pots. Thus the activities of storage, household industry and cooking are combined with the storage of both utilitarian and possibly religious objects (N. Marinatos 1984b: 169). The twelve vases A10 to A21 were also found in a storeroom, room Beta 6, along with a number of other vessels. Some of these vessels might have had a religious function, but others were probably utilitarian (see S. Marinatos 1970: 35).



Figure 8: Stone Horns of Consecration from Akrotiri (S. Marinatos 1974: Plate 83a)

The Delta 2 storeroom or Lilies Room connects the act of storage to religious beliefs, rituals and symbolism in a number of ways. This room contained the nipples ewer A34, along with a number of other finds of both utilitarian and possibly religious nature. Delta 2 is also unique in that its walls were entirely decorated with a wall painting. This painting of lilies and flying swallows, along with many other wall paintings at Akrotiri, probably contains religious symbolism (Angelopoulou 2000: 547; Barber 1987: 183-184; Dumas 1983: 54, 76; Marthari 2000: 885; N. Marinatos 1984a). Yet this and many other wall paintings may adorn the walls of otherwise domestic spaces.

In room Delta 2, numerous utilitarian vessels, a wooden bed-frame, and traces of grain are stored with A34, two tables of offerings, two boar's head *rhyta* and a pair of horns of

consecration. The latter is a known religious symbol from Crete (Doumas 1983: 54, 76; Lupack 2010: 255; N. Marinatos 1993: 5). Also found in this room was a tripodal cooking pot engraved with a double axe symbol, another known Minoan religious symbol (Baring & Cashford 1991: 112-113; Lupack 2010: 255; N. Marinatos 1993: 5; S. Marinatos 1971: 20-21).

Vase A37 from the House of the Ladies was not from a room solely devoted to storage, but it was in a stone-lined storage area built into the floor of an upstairs room. This storage pit, as well as a series of cupboards built into the walls of the room, contained a number of *rhyta*, flowerpots, conical cups, a *kymbe* and other vessels. Some finds, particularly the *rhyta*, may have served a religious ritual function. But many of the vessels from Room 7 may have been utilitarian vessels, and similar conical *rhyta* may have sometimes served utilitarian purposes as well (S. Marinatos 1976: 19; Barber 1987: 208). The large ewer filled with lime from Room 7 demonstrates that practical activities were taking place there, and the unfinished stone vase from a nearby room gives evidence of other associated household industries (S. Marinatos 1974: 9-10; N. Marinatos 1984b: 172).

4.3.4. Religious Beliefs and Rituals in Everyday Life

It seems likely, in view of the evidence, that domestic religious rituals entered into many or even all practical activities taking place within these households: in mills, storerooms, living spaces and possibly also in other activities and industries. Religious beliefs seem to have played a part in a great many, perhaps even all, aspects of life in the Akrotiri households (Barber 1987: 206). These homes already display a large degree of self-sufficiency in, for example, private mills installations and metallurgy workshops sufficient to serve household needs (Doumas 1983: 53-54). In such a setting, household observance of certain religious rituals is certainly plausible.

Such a blending of industry, grain grinding, storage of produce and other goods, living space and religious rituals occurred in both Bronze and Iron Age households in Greece and the Aegean. During the Middle and Late Minoan periods, as well as probably in the Late Cycladic culture, religion, political power and economic power may have been closely

intertwined or indivisible (Cadogan 1984: 13; Blake 2005: 121; N. Marinatos 1984b: 167). Minoan domestic sanctuaries were deeply tied to household economy, industrial activities, grain grinding, storage of goods and the preparation and consumption of meals (N. Marinatos 1984b: 167-168, 171). At the Minoan palaces, the storage of grain and preparation of bread probably had religious undertones, as granaries were located in sacred areas of the palace and rooms used for preparing bread were incorporated into shrines. Minoan palatial storerooms also blended utilitarian and religious roles, serving for the housing of tools, produce and other goods as well as of religious equipment (N. Marinatos 1993: 48-50, 98-103; N. Marinatos 1984b: 167).

The large hearths of many Mycenaean palaces, and of the Minoan palace of Phaistos, have already been mentioned as being of probable religious character, despite being located in domestic contexts (Ainian 1997: 291). In Iron Age Greece, a similar blending of religion and society is also visible. Rulers' dwellings probably also served as the setting for certain religious ceremonies, particularly ritual dining (Ainian 1997: 287).

In the Cyclades, and particularly at Akrotiri where the preservation of buildings and paintings provides much insight into life there, religion may have functioned within the society in a way similar to Minoan Crete (N. Marinatos 1984b: 167). There is evidence that certain crafts were connected to religious beliefs and rituals, for example. In some pictorial scenes from wall paintings at Akrotiri and perhaps Phylakopi as well, the weaving and dying of textiles, and other economic activities related to saffron, appears to have had religious iconographic associations (Morgan 1990: 261-262; Goodison & Morris 1998: 127-128). This was likely true of other crafts, as well as of grain preparation, bread making and the storage of goods. In the Akrotiri households, religious symbolism, religious objects and ritual activities were probably not restricted to shrines, nor were religious objects stored apart from objects of everyday use (Barber 1987: 183-184; Goodison 2008: 417).

Not only in the Aegean, but also in the ancient world in general, it is likely that religious activities were deeply intertwined with everyday activities and crafts, and that religious beliefs played a part in many facets of life (Insoll 2004: 12-13). This close connection between religious beliefs and household activities is a way of explaining the appearance of religious symbolism and religious objects within the living spaces of the Akrotiri households. Additionally, because religious rituals played an integral role in daily domestic life, they

were probably expected to manifest in practical ways, for example in the form of health, prosperity and other everyday matters (Goodison 2008: 417).

4.3.5. Evidence of Feasting and Drinking in the Aegean and at Akrotiri

It seems necessary to discuss, briefly, the evidence for feasting and drinking in the Aegean, and why I believe that nipples ewers were not used in such activities. Nipples ewers were far from the only style of ewer or jug found in Akrotiri households. It is likely that many of the decorated jugs and other vessels from the site were used in activities such as dining, feasting and drinking, for which there is much evidence in the Aegean, particularly in elite households (Hamilakis 1996: 25; see Halstead & Barrett eds. 2004).

Elite homes have, in many periods and cultures, expressed rank, importance, wealth and power through the display of fine and expensive objects and through feasts and other events (Yentsch 1991: 200, 206, 211). Feasting can serve as the means for lesser elites to establish themselves (Wright 2004a: 91), or for elite families to remain active in the economic and political spheres of their society (Yentsch 1991: 200-201). Feasting and drinking can also bind people in a society together or maintain local power structures (Day & Wilson 2004: 45; Blake 2005: 107). Between elite families on Minoan Crete, feasting and drinking ceremonies, and the exchange of gifts such as wine, may be connected with the development of power there (Hamilakis 1996: 25).

Early Minoan ceramics provide evidence of feasting rituals dating back to at least the Early Bronze Age (Day & Wilson 2004). For example at early Knossos, there was a marked increase in the number of vessels used for pouring liquids, as well as an increase in new vessel types that were probably created as matched drinking and serving sets for use in dining (Day & Wilson 2004: 47). These matched sets became more standardized in both shape and decoration as time progressed (Day & Wilson 2004: 50, 53-54).

There is similar evidence from Middle and Late Bronze Age Crete as well (Rutter 2004). At the site of Pyrgos, for example, the Linear A tablet from one household recording 90 units of wine shows that wine consumption was taking place (Cadogan 1977-1978: 77). There is also evidence of Late Minoan wine press installations, both in palaces and large settlements. This

suggests that the act of making wine, and the consumption of wine, was connected to palatial centers and Minoan elites (Hamilakis 1996: 14-19, 24, Table 3). On the Greek mainland as well, there is evidence of feasting and drinking, and the manufacture of matching ceramic drinking and dining sets during the Late Bronze Age. This has been used as evidence of an emerging elite group in Mycenaean society (Wright 2004a: 91; Wright 2004b). Also, in written tablets from Mycenaean palaces, wine is usually referred to in association with ritual offerings, and may have been distributed by the palaces specifically for consumption at ceremonies and feasts (Hamilakis 1996: 20).



Figure 9: Matching Jug and Cups, Akrotiri
(Doulas et al. 2009: Figure 52)

Similar practices of feasting and drinking were probably also performed in the Cyclades, though these probably followed local variations and customs (Wright 2004a: 101). In addition, many ceramic vessels from Akrotiri have standardized shapes and decorative motifs (Doulas 1983: 112), and thus may have been designed to match with other vessels. For example, a group of ewers from Xeste 3 have a matching reed decoration and may have been created as a matching set (Marthari 2000: 878).

The decoration of the Akrotiri nipples ewers is unique, however. These vessels would not have matched with other decorated vessels, such as other styles of jugs and cups. This uniqueness makes it unlikely that they were intended for use in everyday dining, or even in feasting and drinking rituals, unless the event served a very special purpose requiring the use of a traditional, symbolic vase. If these vases were used in meals, feasts or drinking rituals, nipples ewers would have clearly stood apart from other vessels being used in the same event. Thus the primary intention of their use would not have been a display of wealth, one of the probable underlying intentions of elite feasting at this time. Nipples ewers are handmade and locally crafted vessels, without the type of value that bronze vessels or imported ceramics would have had. And, by the early Late Cycladic period of inhabitation at Akrotiri, nipples ewers had already been part of the local ceramic repertoire for over a century. Their use would have served to forge symbolic connections with the Cycladic past, rather than with the Minoan culture that was powerful and influential at the time.

4.4. SUMMARY

Many of the nipples ewers discussed here are from household contexts, and are found either in upper-story living areas or in basement storerooms. In a few cases there are clear associations with grain, both grain grinding and storage. It may be that at least some of these vessels functioned in domestic rituals related to the preparation of grain or bread. Some of these vases are found near mills or in rooms with grinding stones, such as A1, A2 and A3. Some vases are also found with offering tables. A1, A10 to A21, A34 and A37 were all found in rooms containing a number of conical cups, which may sometimes have also played a part in domestic rituals. Finally, *rhyta* are found with some nipples ewers and were probably used in domestic rituals as well.

Many of these find contexts and related finds provide evidence of a close interconnection between religious beliefs and rituals and everyday household activities. During the Middle Cycladic period, these vessels may also have served occasionally as grave offerings and as foundation deposits. These contexts and some others, including finds from Minoan sites on Crete, demonstrate that these vessels could probably be used in a number of ways. However, the original inhabitants of Akrotiri abandoned the site before it was destroyed by a volcanic eruption, probably taking their most precious belongings with them (Kilikoglou et al. 1990: 441; S. Marinatos 1968: 55). The nipples ewers discovered there were then deliberately left behind by their owners.

5. The Shape and Decoration of Nippled Ewers

5.1. PRESENTATION OF THE SHAPE AND DECORATION OF NIPPLED EWERS

There are some variations in shape between individual nippled ewers, but in many ways the shape is standardized and these vessels share certain basic characteristics. Also, some aspects of their shape are shared with the traditional Cycladic beaked jug. Most characteristic of nippled ewers are the plastic breasts, beaked spout – often with details in dark paint at the tip, and in many cases a round or globular body, though this latter is not always the case. On A35, for example, this globular body shape is very pronounced. However on A1 and A52 the body is globular-conical, while A40 is ovoid-piriform (see Meekers 1990: 122). Another interesting detail, visible on vases A3 and A7, are two vertical protuberances located at the base of the spout. These have been interpreted as representing ears or horns (S. Marinatos 1969: 41-42; Meekers 1990: 117-119).

Some details that nippled ewers share with many earlier beaked jugs are the globular body and narrow, almost vertical spouts. These long, narrow spouts draw attention to the act of pouring on both vessel shapes (see Day & Wilson 2004: 50, 55; Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 317). Also, many earlier beaked jugs also have dark-painted details added to the spout (Barber 1987: 95, Figure 69; Overbeck 1989: 35). On both beaked jugs and nippled ewers, such details may be intended to emphasize the similarity of the spout to a beak. Thus, many basic aspects of the nippled ewer shape seem to have evolved out of a long tradition in Cycladic ceramics.

The plastic breasts, however, are unique to nippled ewers. The placement of these breasts is standardized. They are located on the front and upper portion of the body, just above the widest area of the vessel body. The breasts are also, in almost all cases, dark-painted, putting them in stark contrast to the white-slipped body and drawing additional attention to this feature. Pictorial decoration such as swallows, when present, is located just below the breasts, on the widest point of the body. The decorative composition on these vessels is thus a frontal one: the plastic breasts, narrow vertical spout, and when present pictorial decoration all draw attention to the front of the vase and the area just under the spout. Vessels with a frontal composition are most effectively viewed when presented before a group, for example when displayed on a table or shelf, or held out to a group of people by a standing individual (see Day & Wilson 2004: 55-56).

The arrangement of painted motifs on these vessels, both on the Dark-on-Light and pictorial or Bichrome examples, also follows certain standards that evolved from traditional Cycladic ceramics. Decorative motifs are arranged following a vertical axis: they are placed around the circumference of the vase, leaving empty spaces in between. This style was established in the Cyclades towards the end of the Early Cycladic period, and is distinctly different from the style of vase decoration used on contemporary Crete (Papagiannopoulou 1990: 64-65).

Many decorative details and motifs used on these vessels are also inherited from the Cycladic ceramics tradition. One example is the dark details added to the tip of the spout. Also, the use of bands and perhaps necklaces around the necks of vases already existed on earlier Dark-on-



Figure 10: Abstract Necklaces on Early Cycladic Beaked Jug
(Atkinson et al. 1904: Plate IX.7)

Light beaked jugs. These painted bands, sometimes with connecting descending geometric patterns, are seen for example on Early Cycladic beaked jugs from Phylakopi. Such geometric bands and motifs have been interpreted as “pendants” or representations of garlands and necklaces (Edgar 1904: 99). Some of these geometric pendant designs more closely resemble necklaces than others, but even the more abstract motifs may represent necklaces and garlands. These decorative motifs are used on Dark-on-Light beaked jugs from the Early to the Late Cycladic periods (Edgar 1904: 99-100; 108-109).

The rosette is another motif used both on nipples ewers and on many contemporary and earlier Dark-on-Light vases, such as the beaked jug pictured in Figure 5 (Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 313; Cummer and Schofield 1984: 70; Marthari 1990a: 61). Another decorative motif appearing on most nipples ewers are the painted eyes. These are placed just below the spout on either side. Some vases, such as A1 and A54, are additionally decorated with patches of red paint on the body (Marthari 1987: 360; S. Marinatos 1971: Colour Plate Ha).

Pictorial motifs are also sometimes used on nipples ewers, and these motifs are shared with other Cycladic vessels. The barley motif seen on A3 also appears on other Thera vessels. This is true of the ‘goblin’ motifs on Phylakopi vases P1 and P2 as well. Such motifs appear on other Middle Cycladic beaked jugs from the site, though this motif seems to be restricted to Melian vessels (Barber 1984: 179; Goodison 2008: 421, Figure 39.3.g; Marthari 1987: 366; Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 319).

Swallows appear on a number of nipped ewers from Akrotiri, and this motif is particularly popular on many types of Thera pictorial vases (Immerwahr 1990: 237; Marthari 2000: 887). Unlike many pictorial motifs, which may have first been developed in the art of wall painting, and may thus have been adopted from Minoan art, the swallow probably originated in the Cyclades from the local vase painting tradition. It was then adopted into wall paintings such as the fresco from room Delta 2 at Akrotiri (Immerwahr 1990: 237; Marthari 2000: 887).

Pictorial decoration is particularly popular on Thera, and the pottery from this island uses a wider range of motifs than on any other island. These motifs fall within two distinct categories (Marthari 2000: 873). One of these categories contains vessels depicting images from the natural marine and terrestrial worlds (Angelopoulou 2000: 545-546; Marthari 2000: 873). The swallow falls within this category. All of the natural scenes and motifs seen on pictorial pottery may relate to comparable scenes in the wall paintings, and these motifs may share the same symbolism in both media (Angelopoulou 2000: 545; Marthari 2000: 874).

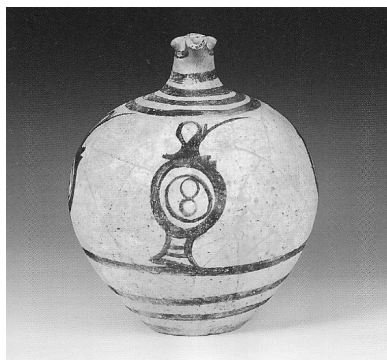


Figure 11: Nipped Ewer Motif on Eyed Jug, Akrotiri (Doulas et al. 2009: Figure 62)

The second category of pictorial decoration includes depictions of cultivated plants and of other ceramic vessels (Marthari 2000: 873). The barley stalks on A3 belong to this category. Another interesting image in this category is the use of the nipped ewer as a decorative motif. This motif appears on six known Late Cycladic Dark-on-Light vases from

Akrotiri: four eyed ewers, one pithoid jar and one nipped ewer (Doulas 1983: 112; S. Marinatos 1972: 20, 25-26, 30, Plate 60a; Meekers 1990: 115-117). Unfortunately, I have not encountered the nipped ewer mentioned here, but one of the eyed ewers is pictured in Figure 11.

When the nipped ewer appears as a motif on other vessels, it shares certain characteristics in all known cases. The neck is narrow, the beaked spout is long and points upwards, and on the right shoulder are painted one or two knobs probably representing the breasts. In some cases, plant motifs are used in combination with the nipped ewers. In addition, two other features also appear on these images. One is the inclusion of one or two vertical, pointed protuberances at the base of the spout, similar to what is seen on the actual vessels A3 and A7. Another feature is a motif painted inside the body of the nipped ewer, of a circle with two smaller circles enclosed within it (Meekers 1990: 117-119). This circular motif appears

frequently on actual vessels from Akrotiri (Marthari 1987: 360, Figures 1, 3.f, 5.a, 9). It has been suggested that these circles represent large earrings (Tzachili 1986: 98). The examples of the nipples ewer motif do not have necklaces, eyes or other decoration that appears on many actual vessels (Meekers 1990: 122).

These and many other decorative motifs on Thera pictorial ceramics may have been a type of shorthand adopted by the local potters, in order to represent the more detailed concepts appearing on wall paintings (Marthari 1987: 377; 2000: 887). Thus, the use of nipples ewers as a pictorial motif suggests that these vessels did represent a specific symbolism in the Cyclades, or at least at Akrotiri.

5.2. COMPARISONS WITH CONTEMPORARY AEGEAN AND CYPRIOT CERAMICS

As demonstrated, many aspects of the vessel shape and decorative motifs of nipples ewers would have been familiar from contemporary and earlier ceramics. This would have been an important consideration, as symbols in art and objects are usually understood through their similarity to previously known imagery (Alberti 2001: 194).



Figure 12: Sketch of Black-and-Red Beaked Jug
(Baring & Cashford 1991: Figure 15g)

At the site of Ayia Irini on Keos, for example, the decoration on local ceramics displays many similarities to nipples ewers, even though nipples ewers have not been found at the site. Local beaked jugs with painted bands along the tip of the spout, as well as with necklace stippling, have been found (Overbeck 1989: 35, 49). There are also

locally made beaked jugs decorated with bird motifs (Davis 1986: 58). One Late Cycladic jug from the site has both plastic eyes and a spout painted to resemble a bird's head (Cummer and Schofield 1984: 71). Ornithomorphic vases are also found (Overbeck 1989: 72).

The Black-and-Red style from Melos is another example of the popularity of birds on Cycladic ceramics. Vases in this style were exported to Ayia Irini and Thera, as well as to Crete (Davis 1986: 58, 83; Evans 1903: 49-51, Figure 26; Marthari 2000: 887; Panagiotaki 1998: 196). The red disks painted within the bodies of these birds have been interpreted as eggs (Baring and Cashford 1991: 61-63 and Figure 15g).

Eyed jugs, eyed beaked jugs, and ornithomorphic vases are also manufactured on Crete from the Early to Late Minoan periods (Davis 1986: 69, 82-83, 87; Cummer and Schofield 1984: 71; Overbeck 1989: 79, 115). One Early Minoan ornithomorphic vase, possibly in the shape of a dove, was found at the site of Knossos (Evans 1903: 17). And on Cyprus as well, birds appear as decoration on Early and Middle Bronze Age vases of the Red Polished Ware group. This ware includes a number of shapes from bowls, jugs and cooking pots to religious vessels. Many of these vessels have three-dimensional zoomorphic or anthropomorphic decoration, and birds often appear as attachments ‘perching’ on the rims of bowls or the bridges between necks of double-spouted jugs. Examples of Cypriot ornithomorphic vases are also found (Washbourne 2000: 129-130, 132, 181, Figures 96, 99, 101-105).



Figure 13: Red Polished Ware Vase (Washbourne 2000: Figure 109)

Whether there was direct contact between Cyprus and the Cyclades during the Early and Middle Bronze Age is uncertain. There was probably contact between Cyprus and Crete at this time, as demonstrated by a Middle Minoan cup found in a Cypriot tomb (Betancourt 1984: 92). And there are some similarities between Early Bronze Age ceramics and objects from the Cyclades and Cyprus. One is the manufacture of unusual multiple-bodied or composite vessels (Washbourne 2000: 244). Early Cycladic marble figurines or folded arm figurines are also comparable to contemporary Cypriot figurines in some ways (Washbourne 2000: 245-246).

There is evidence of direct interaction between the Cycladic culture and Greece, Crete and the northern Aegean during the Early Bronze Age and perhaps even earlier. Cycladic figurines, marble and ceramic vessels, and obsidian were exported to neighboring areas (Broodbank 1993: 316, 318; Doumas 1982: 5-6). It is unclear what the Cycladic peoples received in exchange for their goods. Imports may have been of perishable items such as timber, clothing and food (Doumas 1982: 6). Yet it has also been suggested that these imports were of foreign and esoteric knowledge from Crete, mainland Greece and Anatolia, as well as social practices like drinking rituals (Broodbank 1993: 326-327). Such an interchange of knowledge and ideas would likely have resulted in the sharing of some religious symbolism.

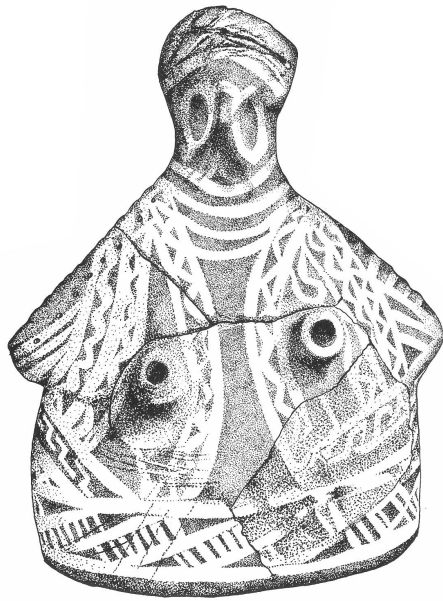


Figure 14: Sketch of Early Minoan Breasted Rhyton
(Gimbutas 1989: Figure 63)

The appearance of breasts on Aegean ceramics is more rare than of birds, however. I came across one mention of a Late Helladic cup with plastic breasts (Cummer and Schofield 1984: 73 and Plate 56 f). Other examples are much earlier, and come from the Early Minoan period on Crete. These are grave finds of ceramic vessels representing female figurines either carrying vessels, or with pierced breasts so that they could function as *rhyta* (Lupack 2010: 251). One such vessel is pictured here in Figure 14. Sometimes these breasted *rhyta* also have eyes and beaked faces (Gimbutas 1989:

39 and Figure 63). These objects represent some of the earliest evidence of religious activity in Minoan tombs (Branigan 1998: 22; Lupack 2010: 251).

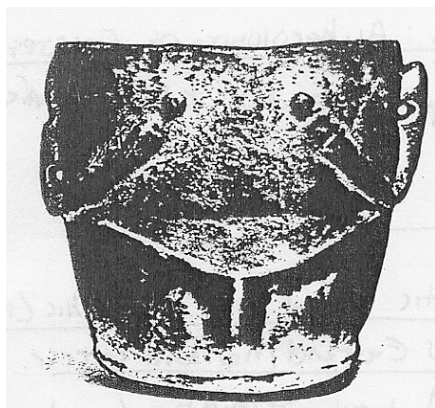


Figure 15: Early Cycladic Marble Breasted Vase
(Goodison 2008: Figure 39.3.a)

From the Early Cycladic period, roughly contemporary with the Early Minoan *rhyta*, I encountered one marble vase with plastic breasts and arms, pictured here in Figure 15 (Goodison 2008: Figure 39.3.a; Barber 1987: Figure 25). And from the Late Cycladic period, there are examples of Cycladic terracotta female figurines with bird-like faces. Such figurines were found at Phylakopi (Atkinson et al. 1904: 202).

On Cyprus there are many more examples. These belong to a group of figurines called Plank Figures, which belong to the Red Polished ware group. Plank Figures can depict bird-headed and breasted figures. These objects began to be made during the Early Bronze Age, and in the Late Bronze Age their appearance changed from strictly anthropomorphic images to round-bodied, bird-headed female figures with arms, breasts and clearly defined pubic areas. Plank Figures also have multiple piercings in their ears to accommodate earrings (Washbourne 2000: 36-37, 42-43, Figure 4), which is comparable to the painted jewelry decorating many nipples ewers. Another interesting parallel between Cypriot Plank Figures and nipples ewers is that representations of Plank

Figures also appear as decorative details on other Cypriot vessels (Washbourne 2000: 113). This suggests that the symbolism of a bird-headed female figure also existed on Cyprus as it did on Cycladic nipples ewers.

Thus there are differing examples of vases with bird decoration, ornithomorphic vases, breasted vessels and bird-headed female figures from the Cyclades, Crete and Cyprus. However, the Minoan breasted *rhyta* are from a much earlier period than nipples ewers, and as they are found in graves their find contexts are of a quite different nature. The Cypriot Plank Figures come from a culture that is geographically separated from the Cycladic culture, and many of these are also from funerary contexts, though some have been found in settlements (Washbourne 2000: 34). Still, it seems possible that some symbolism was shared between these three cultures, particularly the use of birds to differing degrees as decoration on pottery, and the appearance of bird-headed female figures.

5.3. DISCUSSION OF THE SHAPE AND DECORATION OF NIPPLED EWERS

The unusual combination of plastic breasts with the more familiar elements of the beaked jug shape and known decorative motifs inspires a number of questions. For example, why did the Cycladic potters choose to combine anthropomorphic features such as breasts, eyes and necklaces with beaked faces? What is the symbolism inherent in this combination of features and in these vessels as a whole?

5.3.1. *Representations of the Female Body in Aegean Art*

One standard practice that is shared between both Cycladic and Minoan art is the use of the color white to depict exposed flesh on female figures (Doulas 1983: 56). At Akrotiri for example, women in the wall paintings are given white skin (see N. Marinatos 1984a: Figure 68). Contemporary terracotta female figurines from a probable temple at Ayia Irini on Keos also have white-painted flesh (Barber 1987: 186-187; M. Caskey 1986: 27). On Crete, the color white is also used to depict women's skin in paintings. On a group of faience female figurines from Knossos, an additional paste of ground white quartz was applied to further

accentuate their white color (Alberti 2001: 197-198). Even during the Early Cycladic period, the folded arm figurines were carved from white marble, and these figures are usually female. It has been pointed out that this white color would have clearly differed from the actual skin color of the people making these paintings and objects (Goodison 2008: 421; citing Sherratt 2000: 133-134).

In this context, the white slip applied to nipples ewers becomes particularly significant. It has been suggested that this color choice was made intentionally, in order to associate the white ‘skin’ of these vessels to contemporary Cycladic and Minoan depictions of the female body (Russell 2006: 148). It is possible that differentiations between the male and female body were more complex than this color difference alone, as human figures in some imagery are



Figure 16: Woman in Ceremonial Clothing, Akrotiri (N. Marinatos 1984a: Figure 68)

difficult to sex (Alberti 2001: 192-193; Goodison 1989: 4). But the combination of white skin and prominent breasts, along with certain other details, is one that nipples ewers share with other representations of the female body.

It is possible that, instead of being defined by skin color alone, the breasted female body was only depicted or “brought into being” in very specific contexts and types of representations (Alberti 2001: 200). Thus, this way of representing women as white-skinned and bare-breasted may be symbolic and carry a specific meaning. The group of faience figurines from Knossos can be used as an

example. These include three female figures wearing a bare-chested garment with long skirt, and holding snakes.

These and other faience objects were discovered in built stone storage areas, in an area of the palace originally named the Temple Repositories (Evans 1903: 40; Alberti 2001: 196). Along with these female figures, one of which was originally interpreted as an image of the so-called Minoan ‘snake goddess’, were representations of robes and girdles, cups, vases, flowers, fruit and animals (Evans 1903: 40). The human figurines are clear representations of the female body with breasts, and these appear to be exceptions to the common way of depicting the human body at Knossos: as lean, muscular and without clearly defined sex (Alberti 2001: 198).

Similar representations of breasted women wearing these same long, bare-chested robes or gowns also appear in wall paintings at Akrotiri and at Phylakopi (S. Marinatos 1972: 40-41; Morgan 1990: 260; Morgan & Cameron 2007: 384-386, Figure 9.7). This imagery seems to represent a cultural visual aesthetic or mode of representation shared with Knossos and other sites on Crete and the Aegean (Alberti 2001: 189). One female figure from an Akrotiri wall painting is pictured here in Figure 16. The female figurines from Ayia Irini are also wearing this garment, which varies only slightly from figure to figure. In all cases it consists of a long, full skirt, a short-sleeved jacket with tight waist and a girdle (Barber 1987: 186; M. Caskey 1986: 36). A group of votive female figurines from the Minoan-style peak sanctuary on the island of Kythera also appear to be wearing this attire (see Sakellarakis 1996: Plate 13.d).

In fact, in a recent examination of female imagery from Knossos, it was discovered that there are no images of a completely naked female body with breasts. It may be, therefore, that in Aegean figural representations the female sexed body is only depicted when wearing this open-chested garment (Alberti 2001: 200). This attire also seems to be worn by women only in symbolic scenes, interpreted either as depictions of actual rituals or as mythological scenes (N. Marinatos 1984a: 31-33, 61-64, 102-105; Marthari 2000: 885; Angelopoulou 2000; Vlachopoulos 2008; Barber 1987: 183-184). In many scenes from Cycladic and Minoan wall paintings, it appears that specific clothing was used for specific activities (Morgan 1990: 257). Certain types of clothing may therefore be indicative or symbolic of certain activities, and this open-chested garment may have been reserved for religious rituals (M. Caskey 1986: 36-37; N. Marinatos 1984a: 62; N. Marinatos 1990: 371).

The religious importance of the Aegean open-chested garments is also suggested by the discovery of votive faience robes and girdles found in a possible foundation deposit at Knossos. This find suggests that on Crete, the practice of offering a robe to a deity or of actually dressing a deity may have been part of some religious rituals (Goodison & Morris 1998: 125). This could also be true of the Cyclades, at least during the early Late Cycladic period. At Akrotiri for example, a similar type of scene may be depicted in the fresco from the House of the Ladies (N. Marinatos 1984a: 102), part of which is pictured in Figure 16. Such rituals are known for example in the Near East at this time, particularly in connection with the goddess Inanna-Ishtar (Washbourne 2000: 71-72, 74).

Do nipples fit within this mode of representing the female body, or are they a departure from it? It is clear that these vessels were conceived of as women (see Meekers

1990: 122). However, there appear at first to be some differences between the female body as depicted by these vessels and by contemporary wall paintings and figurines. Firstly, that no garment is depicted on the nipples ewers, and secondly the bird-like head does not appear on the other representations mentioned.

However, the “bare-breasted aesthetic” which the seemingly ceremonial open-chested robes represent is also present on nipples ewers (Russell 2006: 149). The open-chested bodice exposes and conspicuously draws attention to the breasts, and many decorative details that are standard to most nipples ewers also serve this purpose. Most notable is the contrast of the dark breasts against the white body, the ring of stippling around the breasts and their conspicuous, frontal placement. The prominence of the breasts on these vases, and on the other representations mentioned, suggests that female breasts were an important feature in symbolic scenes, and were perhaps religiously significant (Russell 2006: 149).

5.3.2. *The Significance of Jewelry and Adornments*

There are also other similarities between the female body as represented by nipples ewers,



Figure 17: Sketch of a 'Goddess' Wearing Necklaces and Earrings, Akrotiri
(N. Marinatos 1984a: Figure 49)

and by contemporary figurines and wall paintings.

Notably, that these vases are not ‘naked’ but rather are dressed in adornments and jewelry. On nipples ewers, this jewelry frequently includes necklaces, as well as earrings on A3 and perhaps A55. On A3, the painted earrings hang just beneath the two plastic protuberances at the base of the spout, which may represent ears (Meekers 1990: 122). It is also possible that the painted

rings around the handle-bases on many of these vases could represent earrings (Tzachili 1986: 98). And the band of floral motifs around the neck of G1 could

represent a flower necklace, perhaps of crocuses (compare with crocus motifs pictured in Marthari 1987: Figure 13). Adornments such as these may contribute, along with open-chested garments, to creating the female sexed body in both Cycladic and Minoan art (Alberti 2001: 200).

Necklaces and garlands are worn around the necks of the Ayia Irini figurines, where these adornments may specifically suggest use in a religious ceremony (M. Caskey 1986: 36-37). And both necklaces and earrings are worn by the 'goddess' figure pictured here in Figure 17, an excerpt from a wall painting in building Xeste 3 at Akrotiri. This woman is interpreted as a goddess because she is seated on a tripartite platform, an image that appears in Minoan religious iconography. She also has elaborate hair and jewelry and is attended by a monkey and a griffin, representing both real and imaginary animals (N. Marinatos 1984a: 61-62; Goodison & Morris 1998: 126). Her necklaces are made of ducks and dragonflies, probably symbolic of her link to nature (N. Marinatos 1984a: 70, Figure 49; Goodison & Morris 1998: 126). Large earrings are also worn by another image of a woman from a wall painting at Akrotiri, usually interpreted as a priestess (N. Marinatos 1984a: 46, Figure 26; Washbourne 2000: 78). This type of jewelry appears on most women in the Akrotiri paintings. The fact that these scenes are probably of a symbolic nature suggests that prominent necklaces and earrings also had a secondary or symbolic meaning (Tzachili 1986: 97-98).

Both necklaces and earrings appear in symbolic contexts on Cyprus as well, where they are depicted on Middle and Late Bronze Age Plank Figures. Multiple holes or piercings in the ears of these figures demonstrate that they were designed to wear earrings. Cypriot female anthropomorphic vases also have both pierced ears and earrings (Washbourne 2000: 43, 74-76). Due to these adornments, both the Plank Figures and vases are interpreted as being symbolically linked to the goddess Inanna-Ishtar, who was worshipped in both Cyprus and the Near East. Necklaces and earrings are important attributes of this deity. The ritual importance of her jewelry is attested to in Near Eastern religious texts, and on Cypriot faience masks that may be depictions of this goddess (Washbourne 2000: 74-76).

There are a number of similarities between the symbolism of Cypriot Plank Figures and Cycladic nipped ewers. This need not indicate that the peoples of Cyprus and the Cyclades shared religious beliefs, but it does suggest that their conceptualization of the symbolic attributes of a deity, and of ritual attire, were similar. In the Cyclades, it also seems likely that adornments such as necklaces and earrings were part of the religious symbolism and were linked to religious beliefs. There seems to be a clear connection between open-chested costumes, jewelry and garlands, and religious rituals and symbolic scenes (M. Caskey 1986: 36-37; N. Marinatos 1984a: 62; N. Marinatos 1990: 371). The necklaces on nipped ewers

may, then, symbolically link these vases to a female deity or represent an aspect of the divine (Gimbutas 1989: Plate 8; Johnson 1988: 47).

5.3.3. *Birds, Nature Scenes and Divination*

Nippled ewers differ from many of the other representations of the female body discussed above due to the bird symbolism in their shape and decoration, though the Early Minoan *rhyta* and Cypriot figures demonstrate that images of bird-headed women were not unknown in the Aegean and neighboring areas. Some Late Minoan seal impressions also depict bird-headed women, wearing the bare-chested Aegean ceremonial garment (Papagiannopoulou 2008: 443; and see Figure 22 in this study). Bird imagery may be another aspect of these vessels that is deeply rooted in Cycladic religious symbolism, and that is shared with slightly different representations in the Minoan tradition.



Figure 18: Minoan Figurine with Crown of Doves and Horns (Baring & Cashford 1991: Figure 30)

Birds appear in a number of Cycladic nature scenes, particularly in the Akrotiri wall paintings. These and many other Aegean nature scenes appear to contain religious symbolism (Angelopoulou 2000: 549; Baring & Cashford 1991: 107; Doumas 1983: 54, 76; Morgan 1990: 258-259). Frequently, nature scenes are interpreted as being linked to a shared Cycladic and Minoan nature goddess, with motifs such as birds, flowers and other vegetation alluding to the season of spring (Angelopoulou 2000: 547, 549; N. Marinatos 1990: 373-375; Meekers 1990: 124; Russell 2006: 151; Vlachopoulos 2008: 453). This idea of a single Aegean goddess of nature and fertility was first developed a century or so ago by Sir Arthur Evans during his excavations in Crete, and has been more recently questioned. It is also possible that the Minoan and

Cycladic religions were polytheistic, similar to those of the neighboring Near Eastern and Egyptian cultures (Dickinson 1994: 257; Goodison & Morris 1998: 113, 130; Nilsson 1950: 1-3, 32-33).

In addition to nature scenes, birds also appear as adornments on women's ceremonial clothing in a number of Cycladic paintings. The duck necklace worn by the Akrotiri 'goddess' in Figure 17 is one example. Both ducks and swallows also decorate women's clothing in other paintings from the site (Vlachopoulos 2008: 453). At Phylakopi, one wall painting depicts birds, perhaps doves, embroidered on the skirt of a woman wearing the same bare-chested ceremonial garment (Immerwahr 1990: 238; Morgan & Cameron 2007: 384).

Birds frequently appear in Minoan religious contexts as well. A clay votive figurine of a bird was discovered at the Minoan-style peak sanctuary of Agios Georgios on Kythera, for example (Sakellarakis 1996: 84, Plate 12.d). And terracotta birds were often used as offerings in Cretan caves (Baring & Cashford 1991: 107, 124, Figure 3.30). There are also Minoan seal impressions depicting images of ducks, flying doves and owls, the latter alongside a solar symbol (Evans 1903: 53, 55-56, 58, 93, Figure 33). Another clearly symbolic representation is the Minoan figurine pictured in Figure 18, wearing a horned crown with birds perched on top of it.

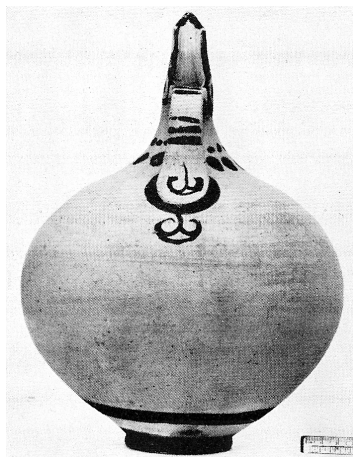


Figure 19: Lily Pendant motif on A35
(S. Marinatos 1971: Plate 71 excerpt, right)

On nipped ewers both bird symbolism, and the occasional use of floral motifs such as lily and crocus flowers, probably represent religious imagery. Both lilies and crocuses appear to have been Cycladic and Minoan religious symbols, and both flowers adorn the clothing of women in the Akrotiri wall paintings (N. Marinatos 1984b: 174; N. Marinatos 1990: 371; Tzachili 1986: 99). These flowers also appear in religious

scenes on Minoan signet rings (Evans 1903: 128). Lilies are used as decoration over an altar in a wall painting in building Xeste 3 at Akrotiri. The religious nature of this painting is made even clearer because it is located over an *adyton* or lustral basin, a Minoan style of room that most likely had a religious function (N. Marinatos 1984b: 174; N. Marinatos 1993: 77-87; Vlachopoulos 2008: 451). Crocuses often decorate painted offering tables at Akrotiri (N. Marinatos 1990: 371). And the 'goddess' in Figure 17 has crocus flowers on her dress and cheek (Morgan 1990: 259). In the Cyclades and particularly at Akrotiri, the combination of these flowers with birds may represent a particular symbolic group (Angelopoulou 2000: 549; Marthari 2000: 874-875; Tzachili 1986: 99).

On G1, the ring of floral motifs around the neck of the vase may represent crocuses (compare with crocus motif in Marthari 1987: Figure 13). And the motif below the handle of A35, pictured here in Figure 19, has been interpreted as a lily pendant (N. Marinatos 1990: 371; compare with Papagiannopoulou 2008: Figure 40.27.2a; compare with S. Marinatos 1971: Plate 76b). Such decoration on the handle bases of these vases could represent earrings (Tzachili 1986: 98), and so this lily pendant might depict an adornment worn by the vase in a similar way to the lily and crocus adornments of women in wall paintings.

Like the nature scenes, motifs such as swallows, barley and lily pendants on nipples ewers are often interpreted as being linked to a supposed Cycladic and Minoan nature goddess, and are used as evidence that these vessels symbolize fertility and were used in rituals related to fertility (N. Marinatos 1990: 371; Russell 2006: 147, 149-150; Tzachili 1986: 98). But these motifs do not appear on all nipples ewers. A great number of the vases in my catalogue are more plainly decorated. Also, not all of these vessels have a markedly round body shape, which is another characteristic that has been used as evidence of their connection to fertility (N. Marinatos 1984b: 176). In addition, motifs like ‘goblins’ and eye symbols do not have clear associations to fertility.

Certain objects and imagery from both the Cyclades and Crete provide evidence not of a preoccupation with fertility, but of an interest in other types of symbolism, such as solar symbolism. I have already mentioned the Minoan seal impression depicting an owl and solar symbol. Another Early Minoan steatite seal depicts two possibly female figures, standing to either side of a solar symbol (Goodison & Morris 1998: Figure 53.a). Also, many Early Minoan tombs in the Mesara face towards the east, indicating an interest in the sunrise and beliefs connected to the importance of the sun (Goodison & Morris 1998: 117-119).

In the Cyclades, there is also some evidence of solar imagery and of the combination of bird and sky imagery. This hints at more complex and varied conceptions of the divine, as well as of ritual practices. One example from the Early Cycladic period is a silver diadem, discovered at the site of Chalandriani on Syros. Its decoration depicts repeating birds and solar symbols (Papagiannopoulou 2008: 443-444, Figure 40.21). Also from this period, a number of objects called ‘frying pans’ often contain solar imagery. The function of these circular objects, made of either ceramic or stone, is not known. They have elaborate incised decoration, often containing depictions of a pubic triangle, which may symbolically connect them to the female body or womb. These objects are usually found in graves (Goodison

1989: 3). It has been suggested that these objects were filled with water, in order to reflect the sunlight during practices of divination (Goodison 2008: 423).

A combination of bird and solar imagery appears on a Middle Cycladic spouted jug or teapot from Akrotiri. The pictorial decoration on this vase depicts a flying bird and solar symbols, placed opposite a libation scene. One of the human figures in the libation scene may be performing the offering using a nipples ewer (Papagiannopoulou 2008: 441-443, Figures 40.14-40.20, pot 8960).

Imagery involving the sky, sun and birds is more likely related to time, weather and the seasons, rather than to fertility (Goodison 2008: 418). It has been suggested, for example, that during the Neolithic period birds were believed to create weather, bring signs of coming weather and even return the spring (Baring & Cashford 1991: 14). Throughout the Early to Late Cycladic periods, and perhaps on contemporary Crete as well, birds may have been important symbols because they were believed to act as communicators between humans and the divine world (Russell 2006: 151-152; Baring & Cashford 1991: 59). It has also been suggested that, in both the Cyclades and Crete, birds were used to symbolize the presence of the divine. This could explain the presence of the birds on the figurine in Figure 18, for example (Nilsson 1950: 330, Figure 24; Evans 1903: 85-86; Papagiannopoulou 2008: 443). Thus bird symbolism could also be connected to practices of divination, which involve connecting and communicating with the divine world. Such practices may have existed not only in the Early Cycladic but also in later periods (see Goodison 2008: 423). The fact that the faces of nipples ewers gaze upwards, towards the sky, could also represent this connection to the divine world.

In addition, the placement of decorative motifs on the body or perhaps 'womb' of these vases may indicate a symbolic way of looking at the female body, perhaps as with Early Cycladic 'frying pans'. It has been suggested that on nipples ewers, the female body is not represented as an object of fertility, but rather as a liminal zone or place of connection to the supernatural world. Motifs such as goblins, eye symbols and flying birds suggest that on these vases the female body becomes a place where communication with the divine world can take place, and where creatures from that other world can appear (Goodison 2008: 421, 423).

The faience 'snake goddess' figurine from Knossos may represent a similar concept. The figurine is dressed in a bare-chested garment and holds a snake, while two other snakes wrap around her body and are knotted together over her belly. This imagery of intertwining snakes,

placed over the belly, has been interpreted as symbolizing life and death, or the underworld. Thus the placement of the intertwining snakes may represent that the figurine is symbolically connected to, or holds power over, the realm of the dead or supernatural world (Baring & Cashford 1991: 111; Frothingham 1911: 361).

As mentioned, Cypriot anthropomorphic pottery may have been symbolically linked to the goddess Inanna-Ishtar, and this deity encompassed much more than fertility. Inanna-Ishtar was a goddess of life, death and of liminal zones. She was also sometimes a hermaphrodite whose cult involved cross-dressing (Westenholz 1998: 74; Washbourne 2000: 63). In the Cyclades, and on Crete, the concept of the divine was probably also more complex than focusing primarily on fertility. On Crete, during the Early and Middle Minoan periods, the

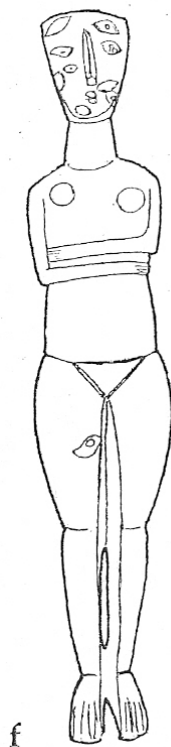


Figure 20: Early Cycladic Figurine with Painted Eyes (Goodison 2008: Figure 39.1.f)

religious imagery seems to imply not a personified deity but rather a focus on the natural world and on rituals involving dance, dressing as animals and perhaps sun worship (Goodison & Morris 1998: 120, Figure 53.a-f). In the Cyclades, nipples ewers demonstrate that religious beliefs and symbolism were complex and multi-faceted. This complexity is clearly suggested by the combination of a human woman, probably in ceremonial attire, with the apparent transformation of part of the body into a bird.

Thus the symbolism of these vases suggests that Cycladic religious beliefs and rituals were complex, and that many issues probably played a vital role in ritual activities. These issues may have included the weather, health, conflicts and problem solving, and practices of divination (Goodison 2008: 418, 421). The painted eyes of these vases could also suggest a connection with the divine. The depiction of large eyes on figurines and other objects has been interpreted as a way of animating or bringing to life objects, perhaps with a divine presence (Alberti 2001: 201).

Some Early Cycladic figurines, for example, have traces of painted eyes. One, pictured here in Figure 20, originally had multiple eyes painted on its face as well as one on its thigh. Because these figurines are found in

graves, their eyes might symbolize the eyes of the dead person, perhaps symbolically serving to intensify the vision of the deceased in the other world (Goodison 2008: 421). On nipples ewers, this connection does not seem to necessarily be with the dead, but certainly with a realm beyond the ordinary.

5.4. SUMMARY

Many aspects of the shape and decoration of nipples ewers are probably connected to Cycladic religious symbolism. Their white coloring and bare breasts probably connect these vases to other Cycladic and Minoan representations of the female sexed body in symbolic scenes in paintings and other media. Also, adornments such as necklaces, earrings and lily pendants are comparable to adornments worn in wall paintings by women probably participating in religious activities and scenes. Such adornments might symbolically link these vessels to religious rituals, or even to a female deity.

In addition, bird symbolism might represent a means of communicating with the divine world, perhaps through the act of divination. It is possible that in the Cyclades, birds were believed to be connected to the supernatural world, and to perhaps act as messengers between humans and deities or other supernatural beings. Also, some decoration on both nipples ewers and earlier objects such as 'frying pans' suggest that the female body might have been viewed as a place of connection to the divine world. The painted eyes on most of these vases may also symbolize the animation or possession of these vessels by a supernatural or divine presence, or represent a means of 'seeing' in the supernatural world.

6. Final Discussion of Symbolism and Function

6.1. FEMALE POTTERS, AND WOMEN AND BREAD-MAKING: ADDITIONAL CONNECTIONS BETWEEN NIPPLED EWERS AND WOMEN

The shape and decoration of these vessels demonstrates that there is a symbolic relationship between nipples and women. In addition, other features of these vases may be linked to Cycladic women in a more practical way. Because these vases are handmade, and usually associated with households, grain preparation and storage, nipples are probably tied to women's crafts and activities. One such craft is that of possible female potters.

It has been suggested that women manufactured pre-wheel pottery in the prehistoric Aegean, Cyprus and much of the world (Morris 1985: 15; Washbourne 2000: 132-134; Sofaer 2006: 138). There is evidence from Crete of female potters. One image on a steatite seal from Kastelu Pediada near Knossos depicts a woman making pottery (Michaelidis 1993: 26, Figure 9 c1). Female names or titles also appear in connection with pottery making on Linear B tablets from Knossos, as well as from Pylos and Mycenae on the Greek mainland (Michaelidis 1993: 26-28). On Cyprus, women may have crafted Red Polished ware vases and other traditional ceramics, both vases for utilitarian and funerary or symbolic purposes (Washbourne 2000: 132-133).

Ethnographic evidence has often been used to support the idea that women were largely responsible for manufacturing pre-wheel pottery (see Sofaer 2006: 138). One recent historical example is from Guatemala. There, women handcrafted pots on a part-time basis, in between household tasks. Men, meanwhile, helped to fire the pots and sell them in the market. After the introduction of the potters' wheel from abroad, men began to manufacture standardized wheel-made pottery on a larger scale. However, traditional shapes were still handcrafted by women alongside other household tasks (Arnold 1989: 222).

Another ethnographic example is from West Africa. Among a group of craftspeople called the *meehin*, women were responsible both for making pottery and for performing religious rituals and divination (Sofaer 2006: 138). Finally, medieval English pots provide a contrast to Cycladic nipples. These pots were made by men, and were commonly decorated with male scenes and motifs, such as hunting scenes and male figures or faces. This occurred whether the pots were made for the use of men or women (Yentsch 1991: 212).

It is possible that in much of the Neolithic Mediterranean world, women were responsible for making, decorating and baking clay pots, including ritual vessels (Briffault 1959: Chapter 8; cited in Baring and Cashford 1991: 50). This may have been true of the subsequent periods as well. The process of manufacturing handcrafted pottery has been compared to bread making, another activity that was probably traditionally performed by women in both the Aegean and Cyprus. Both the kneading of dough and the baking of bread in the oven are similar to processes used to create handmade pottery. The act of decorating pottery as well, with either painted or incised motifs, has been compared with decorating clothing, another task probably belonging to women (Morris 1985: 15). Finally, the relatively simple techniques used to manufacture traditional pottery in the Cyclades (Marthari 1990b: 452) would fit with the idea of part-time potters.

In addition to the making of pottery, women might have also played an important role in the sowing, reaping, preparation and storage of grain. Activities related to food preparation and storage traditionally belong to women in many cultures (Yentsch 1991: 208). In the Cyclades and wider Aegean, these activities may have underlying religious beliefs and have involved domestic or even communal rituals. In the Neolithic period, for example, at the mainland site of Sesklo, terracotta female figurines have been found in offering pits near outdoor bread ovens (Gimbutas 1991: 22). This suggests that religious beliefs were involved in communal bread making at that time.

Women may also have acted symbolically as well as physically, in the cultivation and preparation of plants and grain, through their possible symbolic associations with nature (Campbell 1976: 139, quoted in Baring and Cashford 1991: 50; Eliade 1978: 40-41, quoted in Baring and Cashford 1991: 50). Symbolic associations between women and nature certainly appear to be represented in many of the wall paintings at Akrotiri. The imagery on nipples ewers also appears to tie women to both the natural and the supernatural worlds, through motifs such as flying birds, flowers, grain and 'goblins' depicted on the female body. In light of the additional connection between these vases and Cycladic households, links between women, potting, grain cultivation and storage, and bread making are significant. It may even have been the women of Cycladic households who used nipples ewers, as part of domestic ritual activities (see also N. Marinatos 1990: 371).

6.2. BIRD-HEADED WOMEN AS SYMBOLS OF DIVINE POSSESSION

The idea that, in the Cyclades, birds may have been viewed as messengers between humans and the divine world and as symbols of communication with the divine has already been introduced. This communication may have taken the form of actual divine possession, or the epiphany of a deity.



Figure 21: Minoan Epiphany Scene
(Baring & Cashford 1991: Figure 32d)

On Crete, a number of scenes on seals and signet rings appear to depict actual rituals involving the epiphany of a deity. One of these is pictured here in Figure 21. Epiphany, or the manifestation of the divine, appears to have been a central part of Minoan religion (Goodison & Morris 1998: 128). These scenes depict what is usually interpreted as a deity descending from the sky and revealing

themselves to their worshippers. Thus some Minoan religious rituals may have involved the invocation and experience of the divine by worshippers, perhaps through an ecstatic vision (N. Marinatos 1993: 175-177, Figures 175-178; Goodison & Morris 1998: 128).

These epiphany scenes usually involve human worshippers standing or dancing with upraised arms. This gesture is seen both by the worshippers in Figure 21, and on the figurine in Figure 18. In the Cyclades as well, many of the figurines from Ayia Irini have upraised arms and some appear to be dancing (M. Caskey 1986: 36). The use of gestures such as these may have helped the worshipper to engage in communication with or experience of the divine (Morris 2001: 245). The gesture of upraised arms has been interpreted as one of greeting or adoration, and in the case of dancing figures as an ecstatic dance (Baring & Cashford 1991: 58, 119, 124-126, Figures 3.18, 3.29 & 3.32.d-e; Barber 1987: 186; Evans 1903: 110; Goodison & Morris 1998: 128; Frothingham 1911: 360-362).

On Crete, such scenes of ecstatic or ritual dancing may go back to at least the Middle Minoan period. Two objects from Middle Minoan Phaistos are a good example of seemingly similar imagery. A clay table and a bowl both depict scenes of female figures, dressed in bell skirts, and with their arms upraised in a gesture suggestive of dance. Both scenes also contain images of blooming flowers, and on both objects all of the female figures appear to have

beaked faces. It has been suggested that these figures are wearing bird masks (Goodison & Morris 1998: 121-123, Figure 54.a-d).

In the Late Minoan period there are also images from Minoan seals that depict bird-headed



Figure 22: Bird-Headed Women on Late Minoan Seal Impressions
(Gimbutas 1989: Figure 60.1 & 2)

women. Two such seals are pictured here in Figure 22, and both women also appear to be dancing. This imagery has been interpreted in various ways. Often, such figures are interpreted as depictions of an actual bird goddess (Baring & Cashford 1991: 14, 123-126, Figures 3.29 & 3.33; Frothingham 1911: 359; Gimbutas 1991: 22; Gimbutas 1989: 36, Plate 8, Figure 60; N. Marinatos 1993: Figure 137). In some cases, they have been described simply as “bird ladies” (Papagiannopoulou 2008: 443). Another interpretation is that these later images also represent actual women wearing bird masks, probably as part of an epiphany ritual. Other earlier imagery suggests

that dressing in bird and animal disguises may have been one aspect of ritual activities on Crete (Goodison & Morris 1998: 120; Gimbutas 1989: 31-36).

The Cycladic imagery, however, is somewhat different from the Minoan, particularly during the earlier periods. Rather than representing a figure wearing a mask, I would suggest that the bird head on nipped ewers is symbolic. Similar imagery of bird- or animal-headed figures is known from other cultures, where it often represents a person experiencing an altered state of consciousness, for example a religious trance or divine possession (Morris 2001: 245-246; Simadiraki-Grimshaw 2010: 324). Nipped ewers may, then, represent a woman engaged in a ritual of epiphany or divine possession. Such rituals in the Cyclades may have been similar to epiphany rituals depicted in the Minoan imagery. It could also be that such rituals are related to older Cycladic practices of divination, going back perhaps to the Early Cycladic period. Whatever the case, the symbolism inherent in these vessels would transform the act of pouring and receiving liquid into a moment of connection to the divine.

6.3. NIPPLED EWERS IN DOMESTIC RITUALS AND AS A LINK TO THE ANCESTORS

It seems clear that nipples ewers served a religious or symbolic function of some kind. And the majority of their find contexts, in households and in rooms containing other evidence of religious symbolism and some ritual activity, suggest a function tied to domestic rituals. One part of that function was probably to evoke the blessing or presence of the divine through their use. In light of the close interconnectedness that probably existed between religious beliefs and daily life in Cycladic households, small-scale domestic rituals may have been carried out regularly and even daily, in order to ensure the involvement and goodwill of the divine in household activities (Barber 1987: 217).

Because these are pouring vessels, the act of pouring was probably important in such rituals. The pouring of libations certainly seems likely. Many Cycladic wall paintings seem to depict a theme of presenting offerings to a seated deity, goddess or other female figure (Morgan 1990: 262-264). Though the offerings depicted are not liquids, the practice of making offerings appears to have been an important part of religious rituals at this time. And the possible nipples ewer pictured in a libation scene on one Middle Cycladic Thera vase strengthens the theory that these vases could be used in such a way (see Papagiannopoulou 2008: 443).

Yet nipples ewers need not only have served for the pouring of libations. In view of the symbolic undertones expressed by their shape and decoration, any act of pouring could be transformed into an act of ritual and of communion with the divine. This would be true even if the liquid were not poured specifically as a libation, onto an offering table or other receptacle intended for the deity. These vases may have been used both to give offerings, and to symbolically receive gifts or nourishment from the divine world (see Baring & Cashford 1991: 126). Such gifts could have taken many forms, such as of wisdom, purification or health. Another divine gift could have been in the form of a state of trance. Perhaps these vases were also used in rituals inducing such an altered state of consciousness, involving the participant directly in an act of communication with the divine.

It is also important to consider why these vases continued to be manufactured and used in the Cyclades, even after a number of Minoan religious vessels such as *rhyta* were adopted into the local repertoire, and after many probably Minoan-inspired images began to appear on local wall paintings and other objects. It is true that domestic rituals are generally performed

with a large degree of autonomy and little external mediation or control (Blake 2005: 120-122). Local households could have retained the freedom to practice older rituals even if Minoan religious practices were influencing local traditions. However, nipped ewers were made in the Cyclades over a long period of time, making it possible that the implications of their use changed over that time. During their earlier, Middle Cycladic period of use, these vessels may have functioned not only in domestic rituals but also as grave goods, foundation deposits, and in libation rituals such as that pictured on the Theran pictorial vase. But towards the end of this period, perhaps these vessels also functioned as a way of linking their owners to the Cycladic past, and of honoring or even venerating the local ancestors.

There is evidence in the Aegean of a concern for, and even worship of, the ancestors, though this evidence is strongest in Crete. As far back as the Early Minoan period, human bones in family or communal tombs of the Mesara area were touched, possibly cut, moved and removed (Goodison & Morris 1998: 117, 120). In many cases, the skulls and long bones of the dead were kept in tombs for over a millennium, and in some cases plaster seems to have been applied to the skulls (Soles 2010: 334-335). Some Cretan domestic shrines provide evidence of ancestor veneration as well. At the Early Minoan site of Myrtos, a human skull was found beside a hearth, together with a jug and other vessels. A similar find was made at Late Minoan Mochlos. There, a human skull and ceramic jug were found together in a household shrine. Both skulls were without other skeletal remains, and appear to have been taken from the body after decomposition (Soles 2010: 331). Also, both shrines are near to outdoor cooking and eating areas. In the case of Mochlos, there is even evidence that two human skeletons were present at a feast taking place in this eating area. Neither skeleton appears to have been butchered or cooked. Rather, they seem to have been brought out in order to participate in the feast with the living members of the town (Soles 2010: 332-333).

In the Cyclades, the evidence is rather different. However, certain finds from Late Cycladic Akrotiri do suggest that the Early Cycladic ancestors were remembered and even venerated. This evidence comes from an area called the Sacrificial Complex, which dates to a period before the Late Cycladic town was built. The complex consists of an enclosure, built around a cairn and paved terrace that covers a pit in the bedrock. There is evidence of fire there, as well as a portable hearth, animal bones, horns, a large stone *pithos* and clay zoomorphic figurines. This area is associated with a number of small chambers cut into the bedrock that may have originally been Early Cycladic tombs (Doumas 2008: 165-169).

Thus, it appears that these earlier tombs were abandoned and filled in when the town was expanded over the cemetery. At that point a ritual involving fire may have been performed, the terrace was built to cover the area, and the stone cairn was erected. The cairn itself contained a number of Early Cycladic figurines that may have originally been grave goods from these early burials. This terrace remained open during the Late Cycladic inhabitation of the town, and part of the cairn appears to have projected above the ground. Perhaps this area stood in memory of the ancestors (Doumas 2008: 169-172).

The Akrotiri evidence does suggest that the local ancestors were remembered, and continued to be honored, during the early Late Cycladic period. This occurred despite external influences and possible cultural changes. The continued manufacture and use of a traditional and symbolic vessel, such as the nipples ewer, suggests a similar concern with connecting to and honoring the past. This also demonstrates a desire to maintain some continuity of the local culture. Some individual vases may even have been kept within households over a long period of time. For example, the shape and decoration of A2 is so similar to the Middle Cycladic vases A49, A50 and A51 that it might have been an heirloom from the earlier settlement (Immerwahr 1990: 240). Thus the act of using and displaying these vessels in local households may have served not only to connect with the divine world, but with the ancestors and past traditions as well.

7. Concluding Remarks

Cycladic nipples ewers are a unique and interesting vase evolving out of a long tradition of pottery making and symbolism. These may have been used in a number of ways, and in a number of contexts. However, the majority of the vessels seem to be intimately connected to households and domestic religious rituals. Thus, these vases demonstrate some of the many ways that religious beliefs were intimately connected to daily life and domestic activities in the Cyclades. In addition, their symbolism is a tribute to the complexity of religious beliefs and rituals probably existing in the Cyclades at this time.

I have endeavored to demonstrate how Cycladic religious beliefs and rituals, while apparently similar in a number of ways to the Minoan religion, were also unique. These beliefs and practices went beyond explanations such as preoccupation with fertility, fertility rituals, a shared Minoan nature goddess and libations. Nipples ewers hint at beliefs involving divine possession, ecstatic dance, and the symbolic or actual manifestation of the divine or supernatural through the female body. The possibility of activities like divination also offers a glimpse into the many aspects of prehistoric Cycladic religion still remaining to be explored.

These vessels draw attention to Cycladic women in a number of ways. Their symbolism strongly suggests women's involvement in religious rituals, particularly rituals involving trance and divine possession. Their method of manufacture suggests that women designed and crafted them. And their frequent appearance in Cycladic households ties them to domestic rituals probably belonging to the feminine sphere. Finally, these vessels are a testament to the belief in the importance of continuing local traditions and maintaining ties to the ancestors, despite whatever cultural or other external changes occurred.

Appendix: Catalogue of Cycladic Nippled Ewers

Notes:

Each vessel is provided with a Catalogue Number (referring to the site, island or area where it was found), and a Vessel Number (relating to all nipples ewers in this study).


All information written in italics is taken directly from the source material.


Source information for plates or illustrations that is written in bold text refers to the illustration provided in this catalogue.

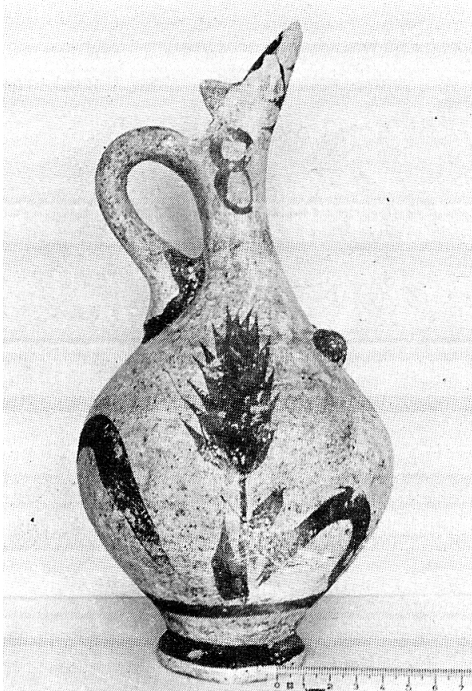
Measurements are approximations unless written in italics.


Catalogue Number Abbreviation Key:

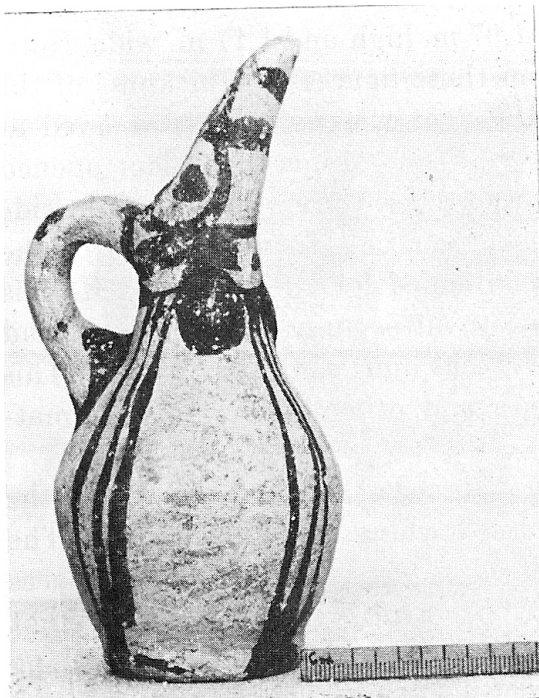
- A:** Akrotiri, Thera (site) and Thera (island)
- P:** Phylakopi, Melos (site) and Melos (island)
- G:** Mainland Greece (all sites)
- C:** Crete (all sites)

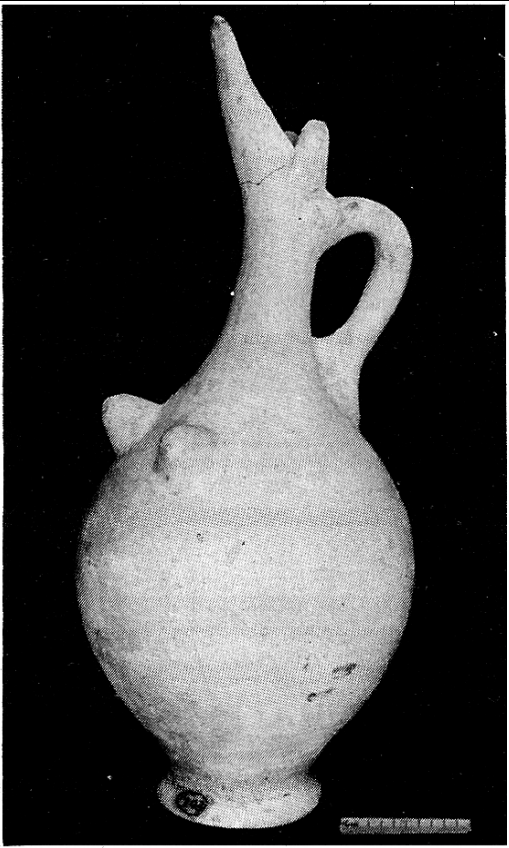
<p>Catalogue Number: A1 Vessel Number: 1 (AKR 877)</p>	
<p>Site: Akrotiri</p>	
<p>Island: Thera</p>	
<p>Date: Late Cycladic I</p>	
<p>Shape: Tall ewer with <i>globular-conical</i> body (see Meekers 1990: 122). Round swelling in upper part of body, just below the handle base. Long, narrow neck and long beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Narrow base. <i>Shape may represent a crane or stork.</i></p>	
<p>Dimensions: <u>Height:</u> 54.9cm from base to tip of spout. <u>Width:</u> 18cm diameter at widest point of body.</p>	
<p>Decoration: Dark-on-light decoration includes dark tip of spout and painted eyes at base of spout. Double bands of necklace stippling. Dark-painted breasts with ring of stippling. Ring around handle base. Two bands around the base of body. <i>Spotch of red paint on back.</i></p>	
<p>Find Context: <i>Building Delta (Xeste 1), room Delta 4. A narrow corridor opposite the door to the ancient street. The ewer had fallen from the upper story room Delta 7, and was found in a layer of volcanic pumice 1.2m above the floor of Delta 4.</i></p>	
<p>Related Finds: <i>Fragments of other vessels lay under the upper pumice layers in room Delta 4, as well as a carnelian bead, a piece of steatite, and a corner of painted brick. From the upper floor room Delta 7: dozens of small, handleless cups. A circular, concave stone probably used as a grinding stone for grain or dried vegetables. A semi-circular hearth covered in slate-stones and plaster, possibly also used as an altar (see S. Marinatos 1971: 15). Lead weights.</i></p>	
<p>Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: S. Marinatos 1971: 13-15, 35, Colour Plate Ha and Plate 69b. Doumas 1983: 163 and Plate 63. This vase also pictured in Baring & Cashford 1991: Figure 33.</p>	

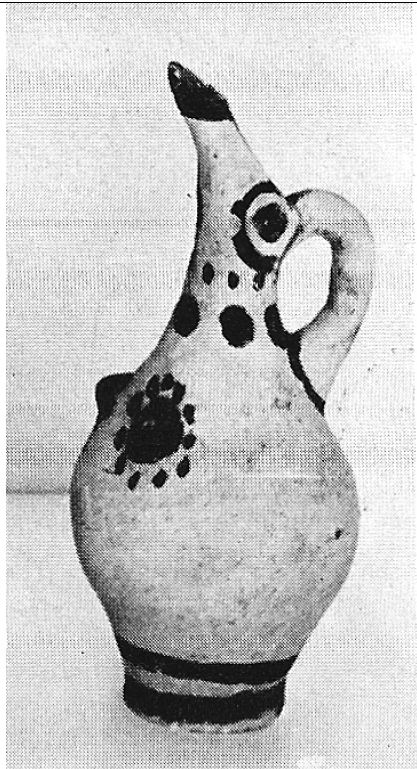
Catalogue Number: A2 Vessel Number: 2	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: <i>Late Cycladic I</i>	
Shape: Very round, globular ewer with round swelling in center of body. Short neck and vertical beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Slightly pedestalled base.	
Dimensions: <u>Height:</u> 17.5cm from base to tip of spout. <u>Width:</u> 13.5cm diameter at widest point of body.	
Decoration: Dark-on-light decoration includes dark tip of spout and painted eyes at base of spout. One band of necklace stippling, and beneath it three solid bands. Dark breasts with ring of stippling. Images of <i>flying swallows</i> on body, one just below breasts. Some splotches of paint on body. Two solid bands around the base.	
Find Context: <i>Building Beta (Trench Bronou 2), Room B2. An upper story room with paved floor and stone column base in center of floor. Found with a group of vessels around the column base.</i>	
Related Finds: <i>A large strainer with ivy decoration. A large jar. A cylindrical strainer with crocus motifs. A painted kymbe with dolphins. Many sherds of locally made vases with floral decoration. A Minoan bowl. A grinding stone. A rectangular and shallow stone basin - possibly used for mixing paint colors or as an offering table (see S. Marinatos 1969: 15). A stone kernos. In the basement beneath B2 were: at least 53 plain cooking pots, almost all blackened by fire. Also many cups and drinking vessels, and some jugs.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: S. Marinatos 1968: 38-47. S. Marinatos 1969: 12-15, especially 14, 42-3 and Figure 5 . For information on the basement: S. Marinatos 1976: 19-20 and Figures 1 and 2.	

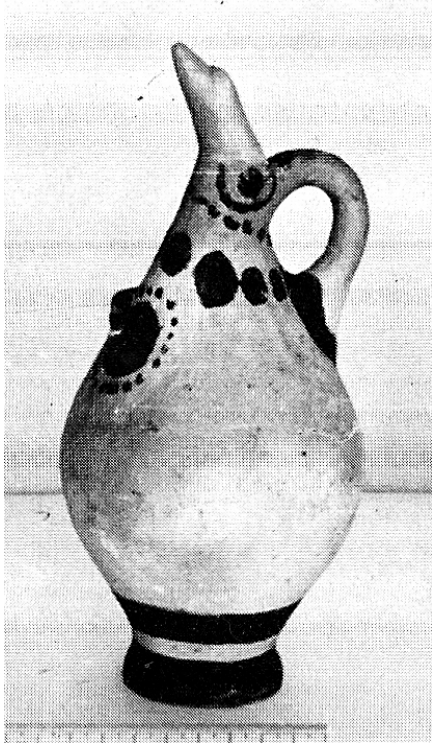
Catalogue Number: A3 Vessel Number: 3	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I	
Shape: A globular ewer with round swelling in lower portion of body. Long, narrow neck and long beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Slightly pedestalled base. Two vertical protuberances at base of spout.	
Dimensions: <u>Height:</u> 26cm from base to tip of spout. <u>Width:</u> 11.5cm diameter at widest point of body.	
Decoration: <i>Dark-on-light decoration includes dark paint (three lines?) on spout. Double rings beneath the spout may represent earrings. Ring around handle base. Dark breasts. Motifs of barley stalk on body, and curving lines perhaps representing landscape. Two bands around the base.</i>	
Find Context: <i>Building A (North Sector A/Arvaniti Trench 1), Western Room 2. An upper story room. The two adjoining rooms contained a mill and anteroom opening onto the ancient street.</i>	
Related Finds: <i>The bottom of a large standing jar. A painted table of offerings. Potsherds. The basement directly below Western Room 2 held a clay rhyton in the shape of a bull and potsherds. In the basement magazines near Western room 2 were other finds of possible ritual vessels that may have fallen from Western room 2, including: a number of miniature cups and pitchers. Two rhyta. Other vessels.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: S. Marinatos 1969: 19-20, 30-31, 42 and Plates 30,2 and 36,1 . Further description of this vase as a “libation nipped ewer” in S. Marinatos 1969: 31. For information on basement see S. Marinatos 1970: 12. Height measurements in Goodison 2008: Figure 39.3.b. <u>Vessel is in the National Museum of Athens.</u>	

Catalogue Number: A4 & A5 Vessel Number: 4 & 5	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I	
Shape: <i>Small.</i> Shape is difficult to make out in photograph. Probably globular body with round swelling in center portion of body. Narrow beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Slightly pedestalled base?	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Decoration is unclear in photograph, though appears to be Dark-on-Light.	
Find Context: <i>Building A (North Sector A/Arvaniti Trench 1), Magazine 2: a basement storeroom. This room was one of three connecting basement storerooms. A6 and A7 were found on a windowsill along with 7 other vessels.</i>	
Related Finds: <i>Magazine 2 contained a great number of ceramic vessels, originally placed either on the floor or on shelving. Some vessels had fallen from the upper stories of the building. The other 5 vessels on the windowsill were: two imported ewers, two plain pitchers that may have been used as dippers or measures for liquids, and a wide-rimmed globular vase.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: S. Marinatos 1969: 18, 25 and Plate 19,2 (excerpt) .	


Catalogue Number: A6 Vessel Number: 6	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: <i>Late Cycladic I</i> <i>Probably newly made and unused at the time of the destruction of the town.</i>	
Shape: <i>Small. Body is globular, with swelling in center of body. Short neck and long beaked spout. Plastic breasts just beneath the base of the spout. Flat base.</i>	
Dimensions: <u>Height:</u> 27cm from base to tip of spout. <u>Width:</u> 11cm diameter at widest point of body.	
Decoration: Dark-on-light decoration includes two horizontal lines on underside of spout, and painted eyes at base of spout. One band around the neck, just beneath eyes. Ring around handle base. Dark breasts. Vertical bands of triple lines decorate body. <i>The vase has a rough texture and the colors are well preserved.</i>	
Find Context: <i>The Chimney House. This vase was found when a hole appeared in the ground during construction of a road. A piece of roof and traces of walls showed that this area was part of a building. It was originally thought that a pottery kiln might exist nearby.</i>	
Related Finds: <i>Many sherds of household pots. Stone tools including whetstones. A fragment of a stone vessel and a fragment of ivory.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: S. Marinatos 1969: 34 and Figure 20.	

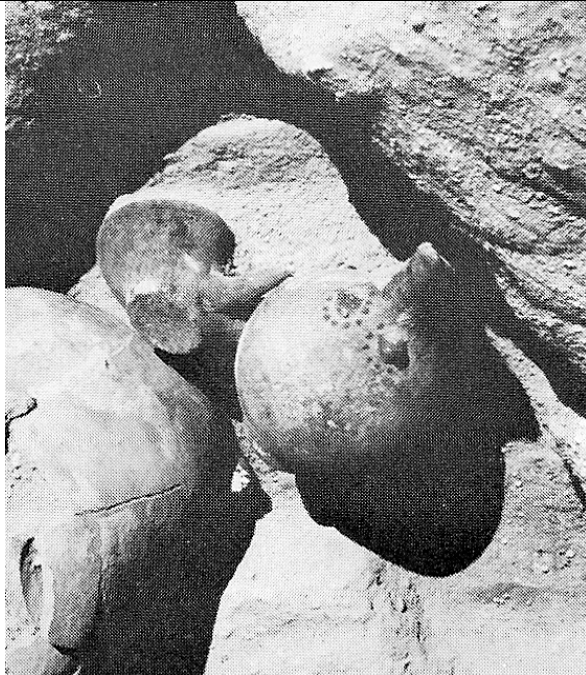
Catalogue Number: A7 Vessel Number: 7	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I <i>Originally thought to be imported.</i>	
Shape: Tall, globular ewer with swelling in center of body. Long, vertical neck and long beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Pedestalled base. <i>Two vertical protuberances at base of spout, might represent horns or ears.</i>	
Dimensions: <u>Height:</u> 64cm from base to tip of spout. <u>Width:</u> 26cm diameter at widest point of body.	
Decoration: Uniform white color.	
Find Context: <i>Arvaniti 2, 1 (window).</i> This context is not clearly stated clearly in the original source. Possibly from Arvaniti trench 2/Xeste 2?	
Related Finds: No information provided.	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: S. Marinatos 1969: 41-42 and Plate 36,2.	

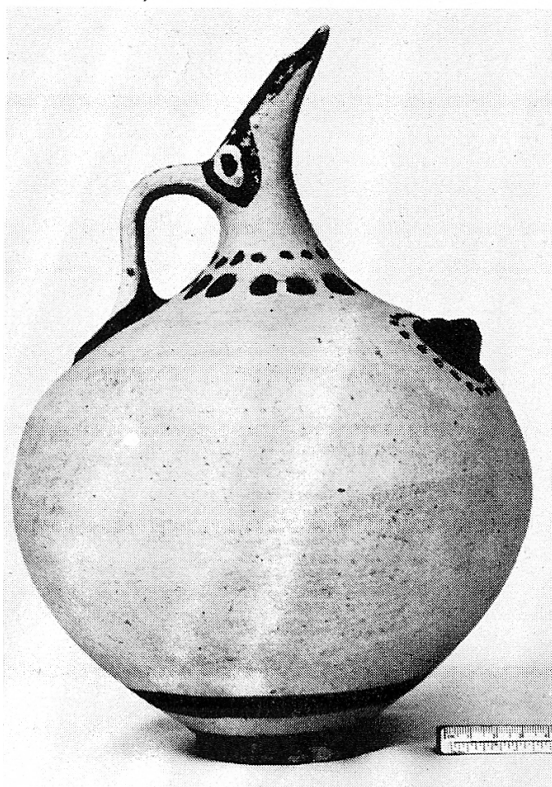
Catalogue Number: A8 Vessel Number: 8	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I	
Shape: Small globular ewer with round swelling just below center of body. Short neck and long, narrow beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Narrow base.	
Dimensions: <u>Height:</u> 18.5cm from base to tip of spout. <u>Width:</u> 9.5cm diameter at widest point of body.	
Decoration: Dark-on-light decoration includes dark tip of spout and painted eyes at base of spout. Double row of necklace stippling. Ring around handle base. Dark-painted breasts with ring of stippling. Two solid bands around base.	
Find Context: <i>Building A (North Sector A/Arvaniti Trench 1).</i>	
Related Finds: No information provided.	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: S. Marinatos 1969: 42 and Plate 36,3 (excerpt: furthest right).	

Catalogue Number: A9 Vessel Number: 9	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I (time of destruction?)	
Shape: Small, globular ewer with round swelling at center of body. Spout missing/reconstructed? Plastic breasts. Pedestalled base.	
Dimensions: <u>Height:</u> 16cm from base to base of spout. <u>Width:</u> 9.5cm diameter at widest point of body.	
Decoration: Dark-on-light decoration includes painted eyes at base of spout. Double bands of necklace stippling. Ring around handle base. Dark-painted breasts with ring of stippling. Double bands around base.	
Find Context: <i>Building A (North Sector A/Arvaniti Trench 1).</i>	
Related Finds: No information provided.	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: S. Marinatos 1969: 42 and Plate 36,3 (excerpt: center).	


Catalogue Number: A10-A21 Vessel Number: 10-21	No Photograph Available
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I	
Shape: <i>A group of 12 small nipples ewers. Plastic breasts.</i>	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: No information provided.	
Find Context: <i>Building Beta, Room Beta 6: the Room of the Monkeys.</i>	
Related Finds: <i>From room Beta 6: fragments of a fresco of blue monkeys that had fallen from the upper story. Also a number of ceramic vessels, many decorated, some possibly ritual vessels, including: five small beaked jugs, a small pear-shaped vase with painted circles, an imported jug with 'ivy' decoration, many miniature bowls, and a number of fragmentary vessels. The floor at the western end of the room contained a semi-spherical cavity, inside of which were pebbles and a fragment of a stone drain, similar to a bothros.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: S. Marinatos 1970: 35-36. Russell 2006: 151.	


Catalogue Number: A22-A33 Vessel Number: 22-33	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I	
Shape: <i>A group of 12 small nipples ewers. The pictured vase has a globular body with swelling in center of body, long beaked spout and plastic breasts.</i>	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Appears to have Dark-on-Light decoration, including dark-painted breasts. Other decoration is unclear from photograph.	
Find Context: <i>Within the layer of volcanic pumice covering the ancient street outside the NE corner of the West House. These vases may have fallen from an upper story window of the West House and into the street, after a thick layer of volcanic debris had already covered the site.</i>	
Related Finds: No other finds mentioned in this location.	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: S. Marinatos 1971: 12, Plate 9a (excerpt) and Plate 9b.	


Catalogue Number: A34 Vessel Number: 34	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I	
Shape: <i>Small ewer. Very round and globular body with round swelling in center of body. Long, beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Base not visible in photograph.</i>	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Dark-on-Light decoration includes possibly dark tip of spout, possibly eyed. Clearly visible in photograph are dark-painted breasts with ring of stippling.	
Find Context: <i>Building Delta, room Delta 2: the Lilies Room'. A small storeroom (2.3m X 2.5m) with thick walls. Originally had reed shelving on the walls. The room also had a wall painting of an upper band of red, and a lower band in white with a scene of lilies and swallows in a spring landscape. The north wall held a closet, accessed by a narrow tunnel in one corner of the room.</i>	
Related Finds: <i>Many vessels were found here, including: a pithos, medium-sized vessels, goblets, ewers, and a number of handleless cups. In some vases were traces of barley or bran. Also traces of a wooden bedframe. Traces of reed shelving on the walls. In the north closet were: two clay roasting-grills, a three-legged cooking pot with a double axe symbol engraved on its underside, loom weights, and fragments of ceramic vessels.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: S. Marinatos 1971: 20-22, Plate 29b and Plate 30a (excerpt) . Barber 1987: 210-211.	

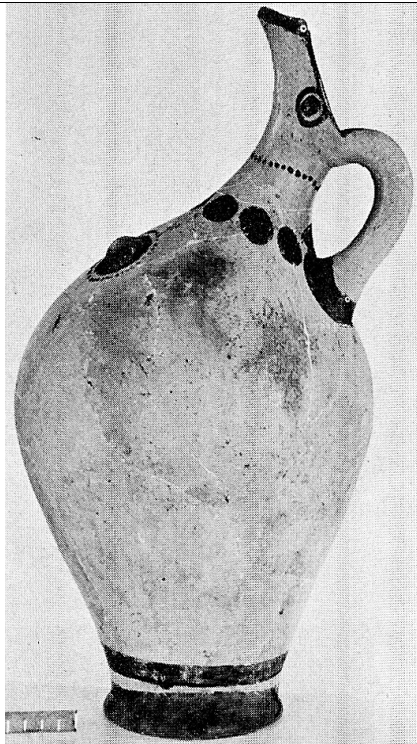
<p>Catalogue Number: A35 Vessel Number: 35 (AKR 1107)</p>	
<p>Site: Akrotiri</p>	
<p>Island: Thera</p>	
<p>Date: <i>Late Cycladic I.</i> <i>Possibly unused at the time of the destruction of the site.</i></p>	
<p>Shape:</p> <p>Very round, globular body with round swelling in center of body. Short neck and almost vertical, beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Narrow base.</p>	
<p>Dimensions:</p> <p><u>Height:</u> 28.5cm from base to tip of spout. <u>Width:</u> 19.5-20cm diameter of body at widest point.</p>	
<p>Decoration:</p> <p>Dark-on-light decoration includes dark tip and upper edge of spout and painted eyes at base of spout. Double bands of necklace stippling. Ring around base of handle. Dark breasts with ring of stippling. The handle also has an interesting motif below it: an upside-down floral motif, possibly a <i>hanging lily flower</i> or <i>lily pendant</i> (compare with S. Marinatos 1971: Plate 76b; and to ivy motif in Mountjoy 1986: Figure 12.3).</p>	
<p>Find Context:</p> <p><i>Building Delta, room Delta 2: the Lilies Room. This vase had originally fallen from the upper story rooms above Delta 2, and was suspended in the layer of volcanic pumice filling Delta 2.</i></p>	
<p>Related Finds:</p> <p>A number of ceramic vessels and other finds were found in room Delta 2 (see description for A34).</p>	
<p>Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks:</p> <p>S. Marinatos 1971: 20-22, 35-36, Plate 71 (excerpt, left), Plate 71 (center and right). N. Marinatos 1990: 371. Same vase probably pictured in: Gimbutas 1989: Figure 67.2.</p>	

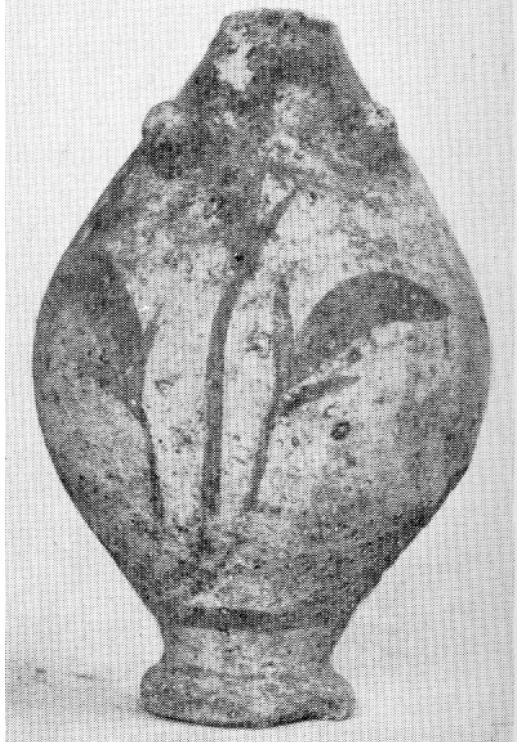
Catalogue Number: A36 Vessel Number: 36	No Photograph Available
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I	
Shape: <i>A small ewer. Plastic breasts. No other information provided.</i>	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Unclear from illustration in source.	
Find Context: <i>Building Beta, room Beta 1, Repository 1 (section B1a). Section B1a is divided into three built storage areas by partitions of unfired bricks covered in white stucco. The walls of B1 contain a fresco of antelopes and boxing youths. The room was originally interpreted as a shrine. Room Beta 1 connects to Beta 2, where A2 was found.</i>	
Related Finds: <i>In Repository 1: two goblets. In Repository 2: two tables of offerings, a stirrup-jar, two spouted skyphoi, other vessels. In Repository 3: three large beaked ewers. Also in this room there may have been a ladder to the basement area, as well as an imprint of bird's talons on the clay floor, perhaps from a domesticated bird.</i> <i>The basement beneath B1 was an oblong storeroom (similar to at Knossos) with two rows of large storage jars embedded in a stone structure. 14 jars with lids were visible, along with many pestles and other stone objects, and 5 plain conical rhyta that were probably used as ladles or measures from the jars into smaller vessels.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: S. Marinatos 1971: 28-33, and faintly pictured in Plate 53. For information on basement: S. Marinatos 1976: 19.	

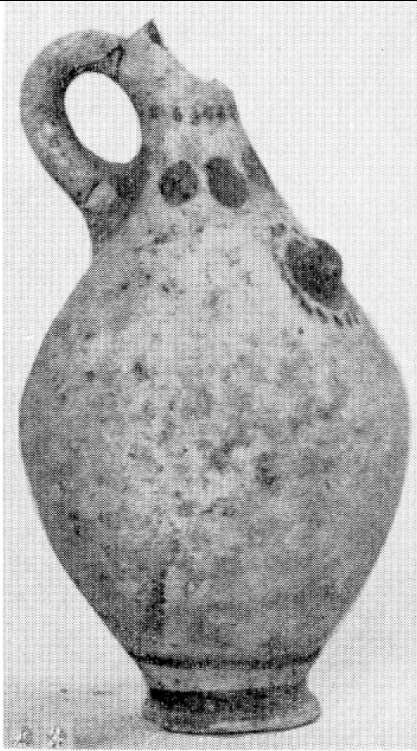
Catalogue Number: A37 Vessel Number: 37	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I	
Shape: Unclear from photograph. Body appears to be globular, with swelling in center of body. Beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Base not visible.	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Unclear from photograph.	
Find Context: <i>The House of the Ladies, Room 7: an upper story room. This vase was in a built storage area lined with stone slabs, in the northwestern corner/floor of the room. Located directly beneath one of two cupboards built into the western wall. Room 7 is located near Room 2, a possible shrine, and may have been associated with it.</i>	
Related Finds: <i>Also stored with A28 were: five rhyta, a flowerpot, a spouted skyphos, and a broad-mouthed vase. The northeastern corner of the room held another storage area with: five rhyta, a flowerpot, and small handleless cups/bowls. More handleless cups/bowls were piled against the southern wall of the room. The closest wall cupboard held: four rhyta, five flower-pots, other vessels, a painted kymbe with ibex and dolphins, a large plain ewer containing lime possibly for stucco.</i> <i>The nearby room 6 held a large, unfinished stone vase.</i> <i>The basement beneath Room 7 held more ceramic vases, some probably fallen from the upper story, including: 2 triton shells, rhyta, and storage vessels.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: S. Marinatos 1974: 8-11, especially 10, and Plate 6a (excerpt) .	

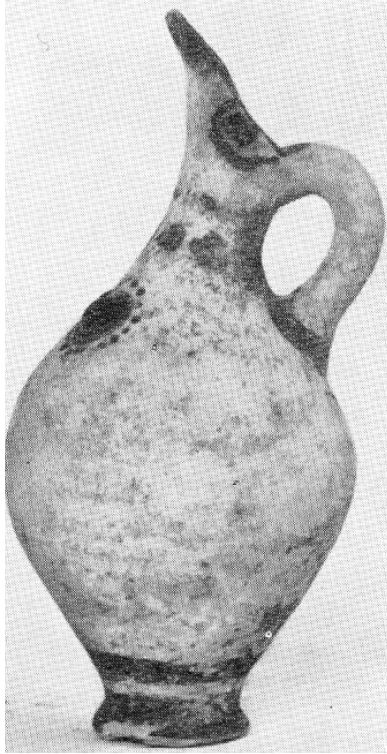
Catalogue Number: A38 Vessel Number: 38	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I	
Shape: Ovoid-piriform body with round swelling in upper portion of body. Long neck with almost vertical beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Slightly pedestalled base.	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Dark-on-Light decoration is unclear in illustration. Dark-painted eyes at base of spout. One or two bands of necklace stippling. Two solid bands around the base. Other possible decoration is unclear.	
Find Context: <i>The West House, Room 3: a large, central room opening onto a courtyard. This vase was found in a cupboard built into the northern wall, opposite the window and street.</i>	
Related Finds: <i>The same cupboard also contained: other (unspecified) ceramic vessels, and one conical rhyton. Beneath the window on the opposite wall was a stone trough. Other rooms in the West House contained interesting finds. In Room 6 were at least 105 handleless cups fallen from wooden shelving, a beaked pitcher, other decorated pottery. In Room 5 were frescoes, ceramic vases, and one leg of a painted table of offerings.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: S. Marinatos 1974: 21-22 and Plate 37b (excerpt) .	

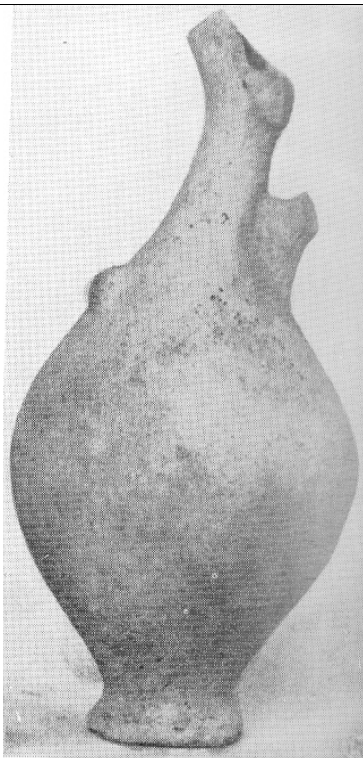
Catalogue Number: A39 Vessel Number: 39 (AKR 1516)	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: <i>Late Cycladic I.</i> <i>Locally made.</i>	
Shape: A very round, globular ewer. Round swelling in center of body. Short neck, vertical beaked spout with flat tip. Plastic breasts. Small handle. Narrower, slightly pedestalled base.	
Dimensions: <u>Height:</u> 43.5cm.	
Decoration: Dark-on-light decoration includes dark line along upper edge of spout, and painted eyes at base of spout. Narrow ring of necklace, below which are three solid bands. Dark-painted breasts with ring of stippling. Dark ring around handle base. Two solid bands around the base. Images of flying <i>swallows</i> on the body.	
Find Context: <i>Building Delta, room Delta 9,1: a ground-floor storeroom.</i>	
Related Finds: <i>Delta 9,1 contained numerous ceramic vessels, including: dozens of small, one-handled bowls or kyathoi, some locally made and some Minoan imports. Also a Syrian-imported amphora (one of the earliest ever discovered in Greece), decorated ewers, an eyed spouted jug with palm decoration, a spouted skyphos with decoration of corn, stone objects, a stone seal, and a pig skeleton.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: For information on A28: Doumas 1983: 163 and Plate 58 . For information on Delta 9,1 and its finds: S. Marinatos 1976: 15-16, 28-30, Plates 18b, 19a, 19b, 44a, 45, 49b.	

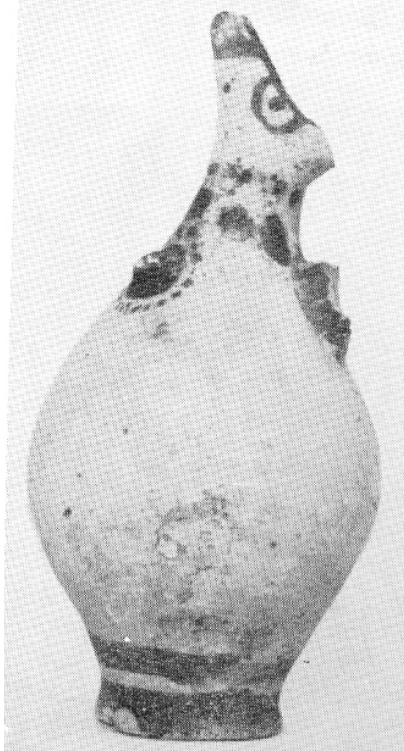
Catalogue Number: A40 Vessel Number: 40	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I	
Shape: An ovoid-piriform ewer (see Meekers 1990: 122). Round swelling in upper part of body, just below the handle base. Long neck, off-center, and vertical beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Small handle. Slightly pedestalled base.	
Dimensions: <u>Height:</u> 40cm from base to tip of spout. <u>Width:</u> 19.5cm diameter at widest point of body.	
Decoration: Dark-on-light decoration includes dark tip and upper edge of spout, and painted eyes at base of spout. Double bands of necklace stippling. Dark breasts with ring of stippling. Dark ring around handle base. Double bands around the base. <i>Additional decorative strokes in red paint.</i>	
Find Context: <i>Building Xeste 3, exact room unspecified.</i>	
Related Finds: <i>Other finds from this building (though possibly not from the same room) include: a strainer decorated with swallows and crocuses, two rhyta in the form of a granary or beehive, a bowl, cups and ewers, stone vases. Other nipples ewers were also found in this building, though possibly not from the same room.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: S. Marinatos 1976: 29 and Plate 44b . C. Doumas 1975: especially Plates 192, 194 & 195. N. Marinatos 1984b: 175.	

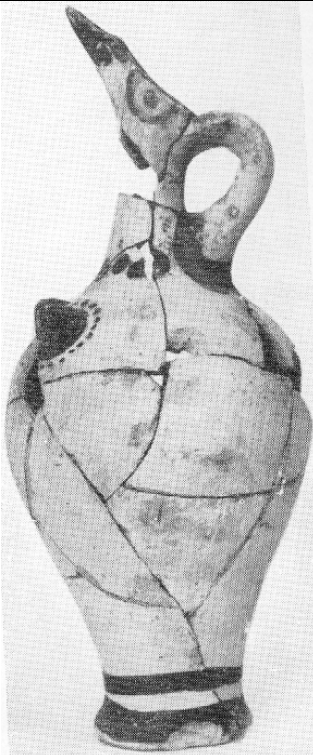
Catalogue Number: A41 Vessel Number: 41 <i>(Vase 4047)</i>	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I	
Shape: A globular ewer, with round swelling below the center of the body. Plastic breasts. Pedestalled base. Neck and spout are missing.	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Dark-on-Light decoration of vetches on body? (Compare with Marthari 1987: Figures 24 and 26). Band around base. Breasts possibly dark-painted (unclear from illustration).	
Find Context: <i>Xeste 3, Room 9: a small room towards the back of the building (2.75m X 3.30m).</i>	
Related Finds: <i>Few objects were found in this room or area, and the exact context and floor level is unclear. Three other vessels found here: nipples ewer A42 (vase 4046), and two beaked ewers (vases 4048 and 4049). Fragments of wall paintings with spiral pattern.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Doumas 1975: 218-220, Plate 192.β .	

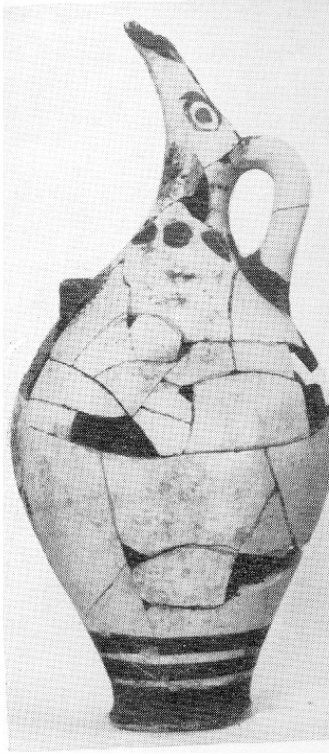
Catalogue Number: A42 Vessel Number: 42 <i>(Vase 4046)</i>	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I	
Shape: A globular ewer, with round swelling in center of body. Spout is missing. Plastic breasts. Pedestalled base.	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Dark-on-Light decoration includes possible painted eyes at base of spout. Double bands of necklace stippling. Dark breasts with ring of stippling. Dark ring around handle base. Double bands around base of body.	
Find Context: <i>Xeste 3, Room 9. See description for A41.</i>	
Related Finds: <i>The nipped ewer A41, and two beaked ewers.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Doumas 1975: 218-220, Plate 192.α. and Plate 194.δ.	

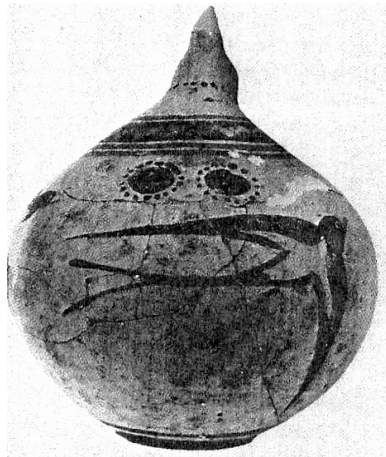
Catalogue Number: A43 & A44 Vessel Number: 43 & 44 <i>(Vases 4043 and 4066)</i>	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I	
Shape: The pictured ewer, A43 (4043), is a globular ewer with round swelling in center of body. Narrow, almost vertical beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Pedestalled base. A44 (vase 4066) is not illustrated in the original source.	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	Decoration: A43 has Dark-on-Light decoration, including painted tip of spout and painted eyes at base of spout. Two bands of necklace stippling. Dark breasts with ring of stippling. Dark ring around handle base. Two bands at base of body.
Find Context: <i>Xeste 3, Room 13: small room towards the back of the building. Original floor level of vases uncertain?</i>	
Related Finds: <i>A total of six nipped ewers were found in this room, also including vases A45-A48 (vases 4044, 4045, 4067, and 4068). Also found here were other ceramic vessels: two bridge-spouted jugs (4065 and 4070), one spherical jug (4069), one amphora (4071), one fruit stand (4006) and one slender pithos (4023).</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Doumas 1975: 222-223, Plate 194.a.	

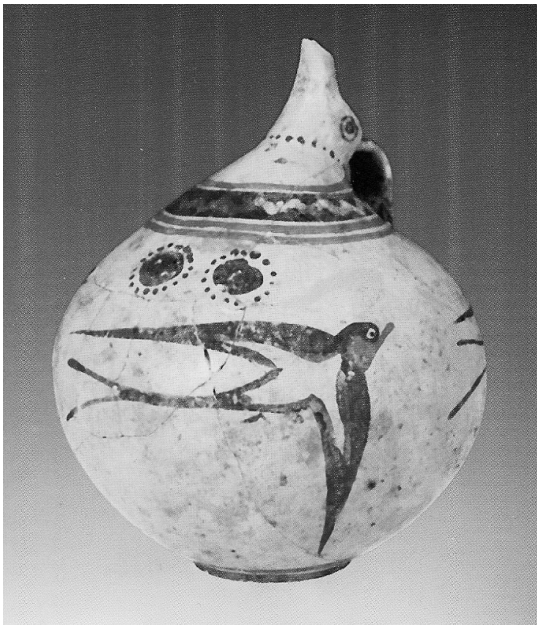
Catalogue Number: A45 Vessel Number: 45 <i>(Vase 4044)</i>	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I	
Shape: A globular ewer with swelling in center of body. Spout appears to be beaked, though tip is missing. Handle is also missing. Plastic breasts. Pedestalled base.	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Body appears to be white. Decoration difficult to make out in illustration.	
Find Context: <i>Xeste 3, Room 13.</i> See above description for A43 & A44.	
Related Finds: See vases A43 & A44 for description.	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Doumas 1975: 222-223, Plate 194.β.	

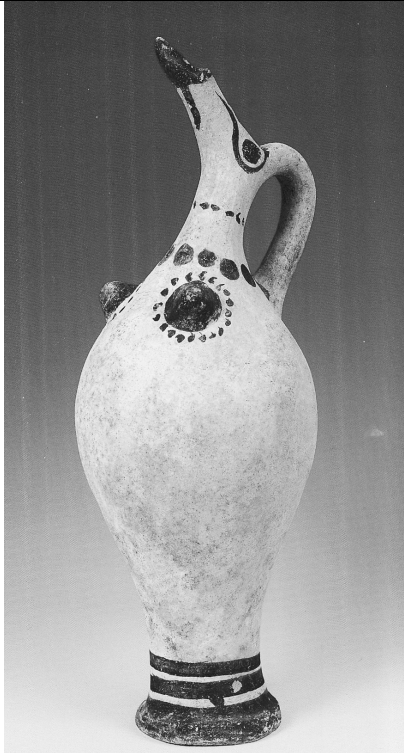
Catalogue Number: A46 Vessel Number: 46 (Vase 4045)	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I	
Shape: A globular ewer with swelling just below center of body. Beaked spout. Handle is missing. Plastic breasts. Pedestalled base.	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Dark-on-Light decoration includes dark tip of spout, painted eyes at base of spout. Two bands of necklace stippling. Dark-painted breasts with ring of stippling. Dark ring around handle base. Two bands at base of body.	
Find Context: <i>Xeste 3, Room 13.</i> See vases A43 & A44 above for full description.	
Related Finds: See vases A43 & A44 for full description.	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Doulas 1975: 222-223, Plate 194.γ.	

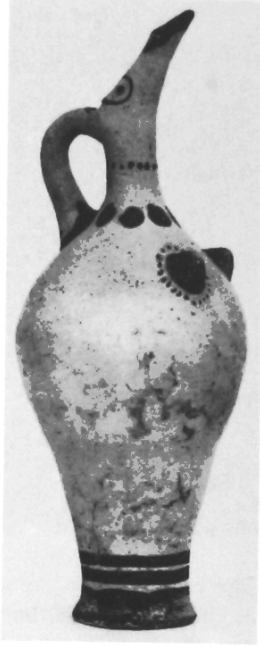
<p>Catalogue Number: A47 Vessel Number: 47 <i>(Vase 4067)</i></p>	
<p>Site: Akrotiri</p>	
<p>Island: Thera</p>	
<p>Date: Late Cycladic I</p>	
<p>Shape:</p> <p>An ovoid-piriform ewer with round swelling in upper portion of body. Beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Slightly pedestalled base.</p>	
<p>Dimensions:</p> <p>No measurements provided.</p>	
<p>Decoration:</p> <p>Dark-on-Light decoration includes dark tip of spout, painted eyes at base of spout. Band of necklace stippling. Dark breasts with ring of stippling. Ring around handle base. Two bands at base of body.</p>	
<p>Find Context:</p> <p><i>Xeste 3, Room 13.</i> See vases A43 & A44 above for full description.</p>	
<p>Related Finds:</p> <p>See vases A43 & A44 for full description.</p>	
<p>Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks:</p> <p>Doumas 1975: 222-223, Plate 195.a.</p>	


Catalogue Number: A48 Vessel Number: 48 <i>(Vase 4068)</i>	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I	
Shape: An ovoid-piriform ewer with round swelling just above center of body. Beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Slightly pedestalled base.	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Dark-on-Light decoration includes dark tip of spout and painted eyes at base of spout. Two bands of necklace stippling. Dark breasts with ring of stippling. Dark ring around handle base. Three bands at base of body.	
Find Context: <i>Xeste 3, Room 13.</i> See vases A43 & A44 above for full description.	
Related Finds: See vases A43 & A44 for full description.	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Doumas 1975: 222-223, Plate 195.β.	


Catalogue Number: A49 & A50 Vessel Number: 49 & 50	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: <i>Later Middle Cycladic</i>	
Shape: Very round and globular ewers with round swelling in center of body. Nearly vertical beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Small base.	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: <i>Polychrome decoration of painted swallows. Illustrated example also has dark-painted breasts with ring of stippling. Band of necklace stippling, and beneath it three solid bands. Eyes and handle not visible. Perhaps two bands around base of body.</i>	
Find Context: <i>Group C Pit Deposits: Pit WHe2. Discovered when soundings were made beneath rooms 3, 4 and 5 of the West House. This and other pits in this area were located beneath two clay floors and an intermediary fill of large stones, broken stone tools and stone vessels, pieces of white plaster, loom weights and ceramic material (up to 0.65m thick).</i>	
Related Finds: <i>These vases were found in the same pit. Finds from all pits include plain bowls and cups, paneled cups, two tall conical cups and fragments of other cups, a Cycladic White jug, small stone balls and a stone bead, the nipples ewer A51. Obsidian flakes were found inside these nipples ewers.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 311. Marthari 1990a: entire article, especially 61, 66-67 and Figure 13 .	

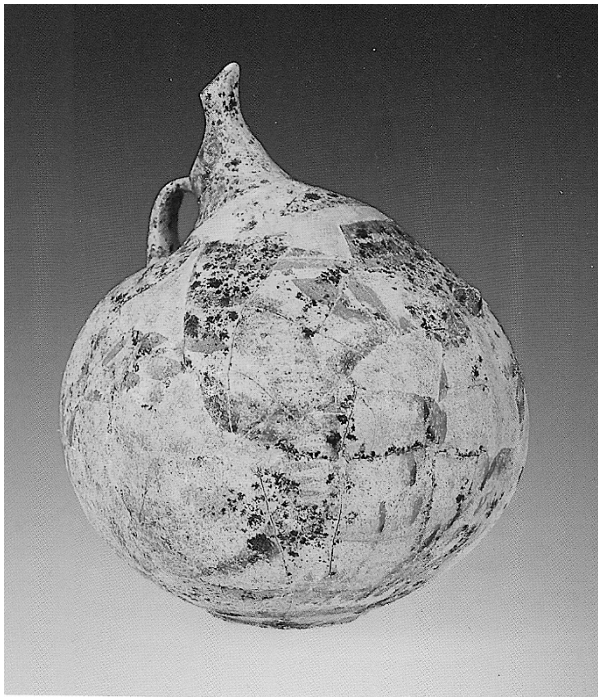
Catalogue Number: A51 Vessel Number: 51	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: <i>Later Middle Cycladic</i>	
Shape: <i>Nipped ewer.</i> The illustrated vessel has a round, globular body with swelling in center of body. Short neck and vertical beaked spout. Small handle. Plastic breasts. Narrow base.	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: <i>Polychrome decoration of painted swallows.</i> The illustrated vessel also has painted eyes at base of spout. Band of necklace stippling, and beneath it four solid bands. Dark breasts with ring of stippling. Dark band around base. Handle is not visible.	
Find Context: <i>Group C Pit Deposits, beneath the floors of the West House.</i> See above description for A49 & A50 for more information.	
Related Finds: See above description for A49 & A50.	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Marthari 1990a: entire article, especially 61, 66-67. Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008: 311. Doumas et al. 2009: Figure 10 . *Note: this photograph may be of the jug illustrated under A49 & A50. The exact find context is not stated in Doumas et al. 2009. However as it seems from the source description to belong to this group of Middle Cycladic swallow-painted nipped ewers, I have chosen to include this illustration here.	


Catalogue Number: A52 Vessel Number: 52	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: <i>Late Cycladic I</i>	
Shape: A narrow, globular-conical ewer with swelling in center of body. Long neck and narrow, almost vertical beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Pedestalled base.	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Dark-on-light decoration includes dark tip of spout and painted eyes at base of spout. Double bands of necklace stippling. Dark-painted breasts with ring of stippling. Handle base not visible. Two bands around the base of body and dark-painted base.	
Find Context: No information provided.	
Related Finds: No information provided.	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Doumas et al. 2009: Figure 59 .	


Catalogue Number: A53 Vessel Number: 53 <i>(4348)</i>	 <p>7. Nippled ewer 4348</p>
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I	
Shape: A globular-conical ewer with swelling in center of body. Long neck and narrow, almost vertical beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Pedestalled base.	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Dark-on-Light decoration includes dark tip of spout, and painted eyes at base of spout. Two bands of necklace stippling. Dark breasts with ring of stippling. Solid ring around handle base. Three solid bands around the base of body.	
Find Context: No information provided.	
Related Finds: No information provided.	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Marthari 1987: 360 and Figure 7 .	

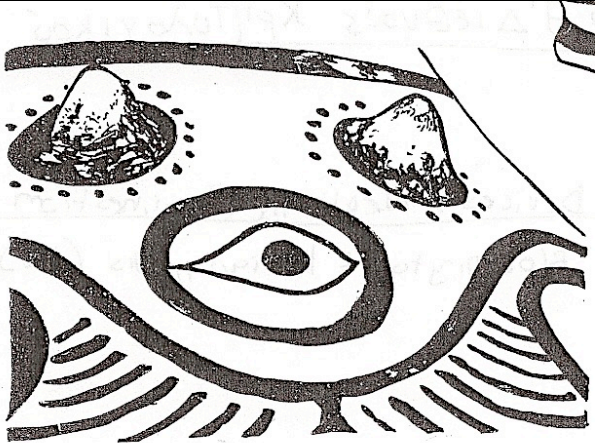
Catalogue Number: A54 Vessel Number: 54 (3591)	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic	
Shape: A globular ewer, possibly ovoid-piriform (see illustration in Marthari 1987: Figure 3.d). Almost vertical beaked spout and plastic breasts. Base not visible in photograph.	
Dimensions: <u>Width:</u> Approximately 18cm.	
Decoration: Dark-on-Light decoration includes dark tip of spout and painted eyes at base of spout. Double bands of necklace stippling. Dark breasts with ring of stippling. <i>Patches of red paint on body</i> . Handle and base not visible in photograph.	
Find Context: No information provided.	
Related Finds: No information provided.	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Marthari 1987: 372, Figure 3.d, Figure 8 .	


Catalogue Number: A55 Vessel Number: 55 (5175)	
Site: Akrotiri	
Island: Thera	
Date: Late Cycladic I	
Shape: A globular ewer with round swelling in center of body. Long neck and almost vertical beaked spout (tip of spout missing). Plastic breasts. Pedestalled base.	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Dark-on-Light decoration or <i>Theran White Coated ware</i> . Darkened tip of spout. Possible eyes not visible. Dark breasts. Possible double rings or earrings at base of spout, similar to vessel A3. <i>A motif of barley stalks on body.</i>	
Find Context: No information provided.	
Related Finds: No information provided.	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Marthari 1987: 366, 376, Figure 23 .	


Catalogue Number: A56 Vessel Number: 56	
Site: Megalochori	
Island: Thera	
Date: <i>early Late Cycladic I</i>	
Shape: A very round, globular ewer with pronounced swelling in center of body. Short neck and vertical beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Small handle. Narrow base.	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Described as a <i>bird jug</i> , though the painted bird motifs are difficult to make out in the illustration. Decoration appears to be polychrome, including dark tip of spout and painted eyes at base of spout. Dark breasts, possible ring of stippling not visible. Thin band of necklace stippling around neck, and beneath this a series of painted bands. Handle base not visible, base difficult to make out in photograph.	
Find Context: The exact find context is not stated in the original source. This jug is from Megalochori on Thera. The site was abandoned after an earthquake in the early Late Cycladic I period, the same earthquake that also destroyed Middle Cycladic Akrotiri.	
Related Finds: No information provided.	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Marinatos et al. 2009: 20, 24, 27 and Figure 12 .	


Catalogue Number: P1 Vessel Number: 57 <i>(Vase 5777)</i>	
Site: Phylakopi	
Island: <i>Melos</i>	
Date: Middle Cycladic?	
Shape: A globular ewer with round swelling in center of body. Long neck and long, almost vertical beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Narrow base.	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Dark-on-light decoration includes dark tip of spout. Possible eyes not visible in illustration. Three solid rings around neck. Dark breasts. Winged 'goblin' motifs on body. The pictured 'goblin' has a rosette motif in the center of its body. *Note: Vase very similar to P2; possibly same vase?	
Find Context: <i>Melian</i> , probably from Phylakopi.	
Related Finds: No information provided.	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Goodison 2008: Figure 39.3.e (<i>Drawing by Louise London</i>). <u>In the National Archaeological Museum, Athens</u>	

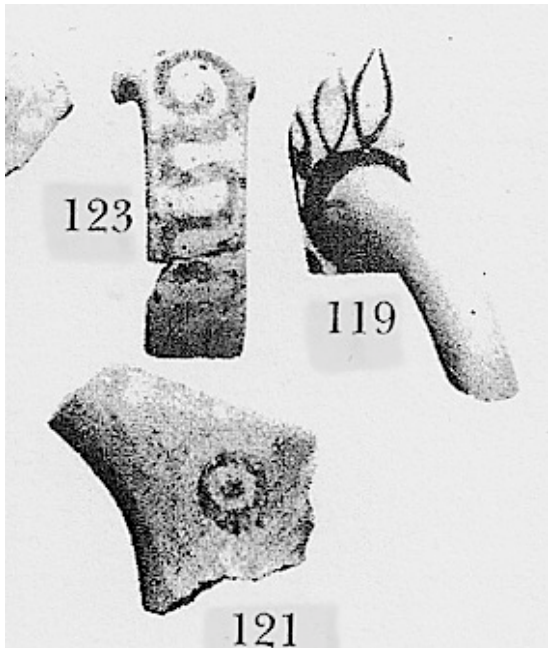
Catalogue Number: P2 Vessel Number: 58	
Site: Phylakopi	
Island: Melos	
Date: <i>Middle Cycladic (Second City)</i>	
Shape: A globular ewer with round swelling in center of body. Long neck and long, beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Base not visible.	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Dark-on-Light decoration difficult to make out in illustration. Spout is barely visible. Solid band around neck. Dark painted breasts. Winged ‘goblin’ motifs on body, with rosette motif in center of ‘goblin’ bodies. Solid ring near base of body.	
Find Context: <i>Found in building or house H 1: 1-13: a Middle Cycladic building. In Room 6: a large, central room of the house.</i>	
Related Finds: <i>Fragments of a Middle Cycladic Dark-on-Light vase, also with winged goblins and possible solar motif (Atkinson et al. 1904: Plate XIV 9), four cups, imported Minoan Light-on-Dark vessels.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Edgar 1904: 109 Atkinson et al. 1904: 15, 41, 260, Figure 27, Plate XIV 6a, 6b & 6c. *Note: Illustration is very similar to ‘goblin’ motifs on P1 and close-ups of ‘goblin’ motifs in: Goodison 2008: Figures 39.3.e & 39.3.f; Evans 1921: Figure 527.c & d.	

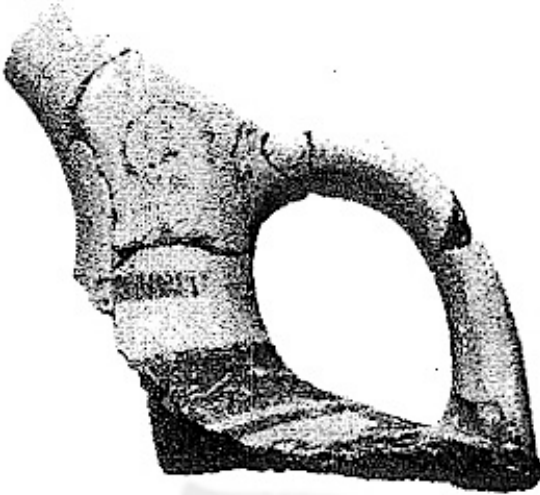
Catalogue Number: P3 Vessel Number: 59 (GR 1920. 10-15.1 BM Cat Vases A 342)	
Site: Phylakopi?	
Island: Melos?	
Date: <i>Middle Cycladic</i>	
Shape: Body shape unclear from illustration. Probably globular. Neck and spout not visible. Plastic breasts.	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Dark-on-light decoration is difficult to make out from illustration. Solid band around neck? Dark breasts with ring of stippling. <i>Eye symbol</i> within a circular motif just beneath the breasts. Below this is another motif that is difficult to make out. Rest of vase not visible in illustration.	
Find Context: <i>Probably a Melian nipples ewer.</i> However this vase is without context.	
Related Finds: No information provided.	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Goodison 2008: Figure 39.3.d (<i>Drawing by Lucy Goodison after a photo by Ana Robinson</i>). <u>In the British Museum.</u>	

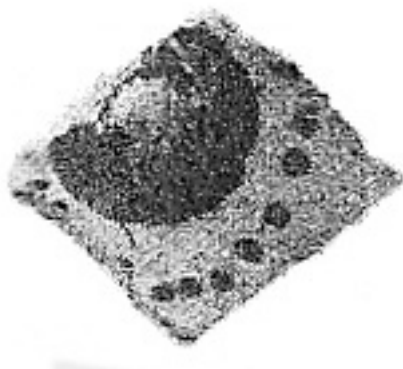
<p>Catalogue Number: P4 Vessel Number: 60 <i>(AE 542)</i></p>	
<p>Site: <i>Phylakopi</i></p>	
<p>Island: Melos</p>	
<p>Date: <i>Middle Cycladic</i></p>	
<p>Shape:</p> <p>A globular ewer with swelling in center of body. Long neck and long, vertical beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Narrow, slightly pedestalled base.</p>	
<p>Dimensions:</p> <p>No measurements provided.</p>	
<p>Decoration:</p> <p><i>Dark-on-Light</i> decoration includes dark tip of spout. Three bands around the neck. Dark-painted breasts with ring of stippling. On the side of the body is a rosette within a circular motif. On the front of body, below breasts, is another motif: possibly a papyrus (see illustration in Mountjoy 1986: Figure 12.2). Two solid rings beneath panel of decoration.</p>	
<p>Find Context:</p> <p><i>From within the town of Phylakopi.</i> No detailed information on find context is provided in the sources, and I did not find this vessel pictured in the earlier excavation reports for the site.</p>	
<p>Related Finds:</p> <p>No information provided.</p>	
<p>Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks:</p> <p>Barber 1987: 148-149 and Figure 109. Jones 1978: Plate 2.c. <u>In the Ashmolean Museum.</u></p>	


Catalogue Number: P5 Vessel Number: 61	
Site: Phylakopi	
Island: Melos	
Date: Middle Cycladic?	
Shape: Globular ewer with round swelling just below center of body. Long neck and long, vertical beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Narrow, slightly pedestalled base.	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Dark-on-light decoration, on spout is difficult to make out in illustration. Dark-painted breasts. Solid band at base of neck, also band beneath panel of decoration on body, and band at base. Below the handle base is a spiral motif with connecting curved stripes, perhaps a foliate band (compare with Davis & Cherry 2007: 269-270, motifs 20.A-F and 23.A). Dotted rosettes on sides of body. Part of a curving stripe or circular motif is visible on the front of the vase, below the breasts.	
Find Context: <i>Within the town of Phylakopi.</i> No detailed information provided.	
Related Finds: No information provided.	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Atkinson et al. 1904: Plate XIV. 5. Edgar 1904: 109.	

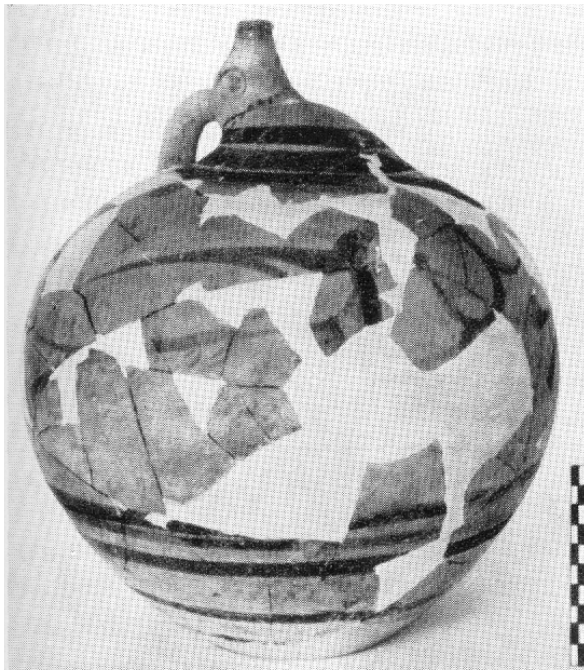
Catalogue Number: P6 Vessel Number: 62	
Site: Phylakopi	
Island: Melos	
Date: Middle Cycladic?	
Shape: A globular ewer. Round swelling in center of body. Long, vertical beaked spout or <i>long-channeled spout</i> . Plastic breasts. Slightly pedestalled base.	
Dimensions: No measurements provided.	
Decoration: Dark-on-Light decoration difficult to make out in photograph. Dark tip of spout, dark breasts with ring of stippling. Dark band at base of body. Possibly eyed. Traces of band of connecting semi-circles or curving stripes around neck. Traces of other circular motifs on sides and below breasts, unclear in photograph.	
Find Context: <i>From the town of Phylakopi.</i> No detailed information provided.	
Related Finds: No information provided.	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Atkinson et al. 1904: Plate XIV. 1. Edgar 1904: 108.	

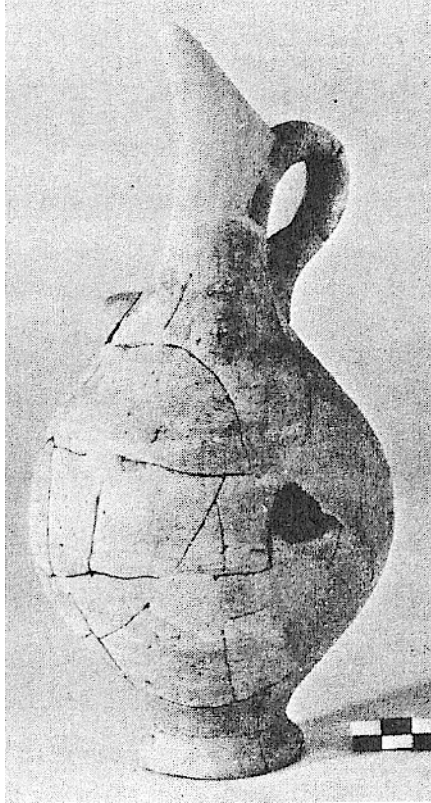
<p>Catalogue Number: P7 – P9 Vessel Number: 63 – 65 <i>118 (IIE 4; L 10.6), 119 (IID I 22; L 11.4), 120 (IIE 18; D 7.2).</i></p>	
<p>Site: Phylakopi</p>	
<p>Island: Melos</p>	
<p>Date: <i>Middle Cycladic</i></p>	
<p>Shape:</p> <p><i>P7 is joining fragments of the neck and shoulder of an ewer with two plastic breasts. P8 and P9 are fragments of a handle and base, possibly of nipples ewers.</i></p>	
<p>Dimensions:</p> <p>Fragmentary.</p>	
<p>Decoration:</p> <p><i>Dark-on-Light Cycladic jugs. P7 has dark-painted breasts, and three bands around the neck and shoulder. The second and maybe third band is of necklace stippling. P8, the handle, has a dark ring and leaf-shaped motifs around the base. P9, the base, has a dark-painted ring or band.</i></p>	
<p>Find Context:</p> <p><i>Trenches IIE and IID I are in the southern area of the Megaron. They are from Middle Cycladic contexts, belonging to an earlier large building or ‘mansion’ pre-dating the Megaron. The room had plastered floors, a built stone bench and the remains of a built hearth. In one corner of trench IIE (from an earlier period) is the burial of a newborn baby.</i></p>	
<p>Related Finds:</p> <p><i>Found in situ on the floor were: a complete stone lamp or quern with runnel and a complete plain, beaked jug (possibly later Early Cycladic). Also found were fragments of: Cycladic bowls, jars & bridge-spouted jars, the pedestal foot of a goblet or jar, Dark Burnished body sherds with bird motifs, sherds of cups & panelled cups- including Dark-on-Light cups decorated with lions or griffins. Black-and-Red sherds, one a bowl, one with bird motif. Dark-on-Light sherds of a jug with ‘pendant’ design around neck, others with rosettes and grass motifs. A plain bowl with potter’s marks on base, sherds of large basins, a channeled spout.</i></p>	
<p>Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks:</p> <p>Barber 2007: especially 204 and Plate 25c. Renfrew et al. 2007: especially 6-9, 26-30.</p>	

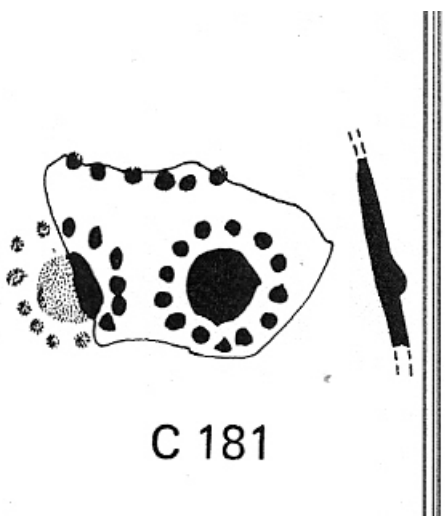
Catalogue Number: P10 Vessel Number: 66 <i>177 (IIC 60, 61 & 62; MPH 14.4).</i>	
Site: Phylakopi	
Island: Melos	
Date: <i>Middle Cycladic</i>	
Shape: <i>The shoulder, neck, handle and mouth of a beaked (possibly nipples) ewer. Its form is closely related to the Thera style of nipples ewer.</i>	
Dimensions: Fragmentary.	
Decoration: <i>Cycladic White with Black-and-Red decoration. Darkened tip of spout. Painted eyes at base of spout. Narrow ring or band at neck, beneath it a broader red-painted band with black outlines. Beneath this other decoration in bracket pattern.</i>	
Find Context: <i>Trench IIC, in the northeastern corner of the Megaron building, connecting rooms 13 and 14. Middle Cycladic contexts pre-date the Megaron and belong to the earlier 'Mansion'. This area had a built hearth of stones and clay, with plastered surface and edges, and a grain bin. Also an Early Cycladic jar burial of a newborn baby.</i>	
Related Finds: <i>Many fragments of Middle Cycladic vessels, decorated and plain, including: bowls and cups, one with blackened inside, one with bird motif. Stemmed bowls or goblets, panelled cups, jars, large basins, a plain lamp. Decorated sherds include: Dark-on-Light with bird, large Black-and-Red vessel with birds, and a Minoan style oval-mouthed amphora. Fragments of other beaked jugs, at least one with plastic eyes. A unique hanging vase with red-on-white decoration of rocks and lilies. Fragments of Middle Minoan imported vessels, including a strainer. A stone quern, some bone and obsidian. Also terracotta loom weights and spindle whorls, possibly from an earlier period (see Renfrew et al. 2007: 408-411).</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Barber 2007: especially 210-211, Figure 6.9 (177) and Plate 26c . Renfrew et al. 2007: especially 41-49, 408-411.	

Catalogue Number: P11 – P13 Vessel Number: 67 – 69 <i>P751 (illustrated).</i>	
Site: Phylakopi	
Island: Melos	
Date: <i>Late Cycladic I</i>	
Shape: <i>Melian nipples ewer. Sherds of at least three nipples ewers with plastic breasts.</i>	
Dimensions: <i>Fragmentary, small body sherds only.</i>	
Decoration: <i>Dark-on-Light decoration. Dark-painted breast with ring of stippling on all examples. No other decoration visible.</i>	
Find Context: <i>Trench PLa, layer 77. This trench lies just north of the fortification wall, within the ancient town. The room is separated by a wall from the ancient street, and is near the ‘Sanctuary’ area of Renfrew 1985 (see Renfrew et al. 2007: 65 and Figure 3.41). Traces of burning in one part of the room suggest a temporary hearth or fire at some time during the early Late Bronze Age.</i>	
Related Finds: <i>Contained an area of fill, made of stones and sherds of coarse ware vessels. In this fill was a plaster table of offerings or portable hearth (see Morgan & Cameron 2007: Figures 9.12 & 9.13). Also potsherds probably accumulated over a short period. Fragments of cups, handleless cups, panelled cups, and bowls. Sherds of deep bowls or basins, one possible pithos, body sherds of decorated closed vessels. Fragments of 3 cooking pots. A jar, 2 lamps, bridge-spouted jars. A pedestalled bowl or goblet. Part of a possible ovoid rhyton. Fragments of wall painting including a miniature fresco with human figures.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Davis & Cherry 2007: especially 286 and Plate 34b . Morgan & Cameron 2007: especially 391-395, Figures 9.12 & 9.13. Renfrew et al 2007: especially 64-66, 73-75.	

Catalogue Number: G1 Vessel Number: 70	
Site: Lerna <i>A Theran or Melian import?</i>	
Location: Mainland Greece	
Date: <i>Middle Helladic III, Lerna V</i>	
Shape: A globular ewer with round swelling in center of body. Long, narrow vertical beaked spout. Plastic breasts. Narrow, slightly pedestalled base.	
Dimensions: <u>Height:</u> 29.5cm from base to tip of spout. <u>Width:</u> 14.5cm diameter at widest point of body.	
Decoration: Dark-on-Light decoration (<i>Cycladic Matt-Painted</i>) includes dark tip of spout. Painted eyes at base of spout. Dark breasts with ring of stippling. A ring of floral motifs around the neck, possibly crocuses (compare with crocus motif in Marthari 1987: Figure 13). Other motifs on body include rosettes on the sides. Also a vertical row of three motifs – possibly palmettes – on the front of the body, below the breasts (compare with Davis & Cherry 2007: 269, Painted Pattern 21; Atkinson et al. 1904: Plate XVI. 4, 12, 19; Plate XVII. 17, 19-20). Double bands around the base.	
Find Context: <i>Lerna V or VI: Grave BD 19, L. 933. The cist grave of a 39-year-old man.</i>	
Related Finds: <i>G1 lay beside the man's right arm. With it was an imported Cycladic strainer jug of fine fabric, burnished surface, with very narrow mouth and pierced base. The narrow mouth suggests a possible ritual use for the strainer, perhaps during the burial.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Caskey 1957: especially 152 and Plate 41.d. Zerner 1990: 23-24, 31, 33 and Figure 44 .	

Catalogue Number: G2 Vessel Number: 71	
Site: Mycenae <i>A Theran import?</i>	
Location: Mainland Greece	
Date: Late Cycladic I?	
Shape: A very round, globular ewer with round swelling in upper portion of body. Short neck and vertical beaked spout with flat tip. <i>Plastic breasts?</i> Narrower base.	
Dimensions: <u>Height:</u> 33cm from base to tip of spout. <u>Width:</u> 27cm diameter at widest point of body.	
Decoration: Dark-on-Light or possibly Bichrome decoration includes dark tip of spout. Painted eyes at base of spout. Breasts are not visible in the illustration but are mentioned in one source (Barber 1984: Discussion). Thin band of necklace stippling, and beneath it three solid bands. On the body is a <i>motif of flying swallows</i> , and beneath it are three solid bands.	
Find Context: <i>Grave Circle B at Mycenae, Tomb Gamma. The largest shaft grave in this grave circle, measuring 3.8m x 2.8m, and at a depth of 3.5m. It contained four skeletons: 3 men and 1 woman.</i>	
Related Finds: <i>Grave goods include: a number of ceramic vessels, bronze swords and daggers, gold armbands, gold and silver cups, necklaces of gold beads and of semi-precious stones, an electrum mask, an engraved amethyst bead.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: S. Marinatos 1969: 42-43, Figure 28 . Mylonas 1964. Mylonas 1973: 52-58. Barber 1984: Discussion.	

Catalogue Number: C1 – C3 Vessel Number: 72 – 74 <i>(MP/70/P18).</i>	
Site: Pyrgos (IV) <i>Originally Cycladic (Melian or Thera).</i>	
Location: Crete	
Date: <i>Early Late Minoan period</i> <i>(later Middle Cycladic period?)</i>	
Shape: At least one of these three jugs (pictured) is small and globular, with round swelling in center of body. Beaked spout (appears to be reconstructed). Plastic breasts. Narrow, pedestalled base.	
Dimensions (refer to pictured vase): <u>Height:</u> 25cm from base to tip of (reconstructed) spout. <u>Width:</u> 12cm diameter at widest point of body.	
Decoration: Decoration difficult to make out from illustration. Appears to have Dark-on-Light decoration. Breasts appear to be dark-painted. Other possible motifs not visible in photograph.	
Find Context: <i>These three vases were found together in a large country house at the site of Pyrgos, a village on the southern coast of Crete. Originally in a large, upper story room above a group of storerooms in the eastern part of the house. Studies of the fabric show that they originate from Melos or Thera.</i>	
Related Finds: <i>Clay and stone vases including a local Minoan stirrup jar and two amphorae.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Jones 1978: 478 and Plate 2.b. Cadogan 1977-1978: especially 77, 79-80, Figure 32.	

Catalogue Number: C4 Vessel Number: 75 (K 76A C181 6A/5: 14).	
Site: Kommos <i>A Cycladic – probably Theran – import.</i>	
Location: Crete	
Date: Late Middle Cycladic (Middle Minoan III)	
Shape: Fragmentary.	
Dimensions: <i>Fragment length: 7cm.</i>	
Decoration: A fragment of the vessel only. Visible decoration is Dark-on-Light, and includes <i>necklace stippling</i> . Dark breasts with ring of stippling.	
Find Context: <i>From Trench 6A at Kommos, a hilltop town on the southern coast of Crete. This trench is a small area containing Middle Minoan pottery. It is located in a small section of corridor enclosed within two walls. Some pottery, including C4, was found in a layer of fill and seems to have fallen from an upper story of the building or from shelving. No other part of this building was excavated, so the architectural context is unclear.</i>	
Related Finds: <i>From the fill: a basin, a jug – possibly beaked, a stand, and a small bowl and cup. From the floor (or unclear): a tripod cooking pot, baking plate, pithos with possible cover, jars (4?), 2 bridge-spouted jars, 3 conical cups, 6 other cups, a bowl. The fine pottery including cups and bowls was probably used as tableware.</i>	
Source(s), Figure(s), & Remarks: Betancourt 1984: 92, Figure 2, lower group, C181 . Shaw, Betancourt & Watrous 1978: especially 155-164, Figure C181 & Plate 43.d.1. Jones 1978: 478, 481 (sample C.7).	

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